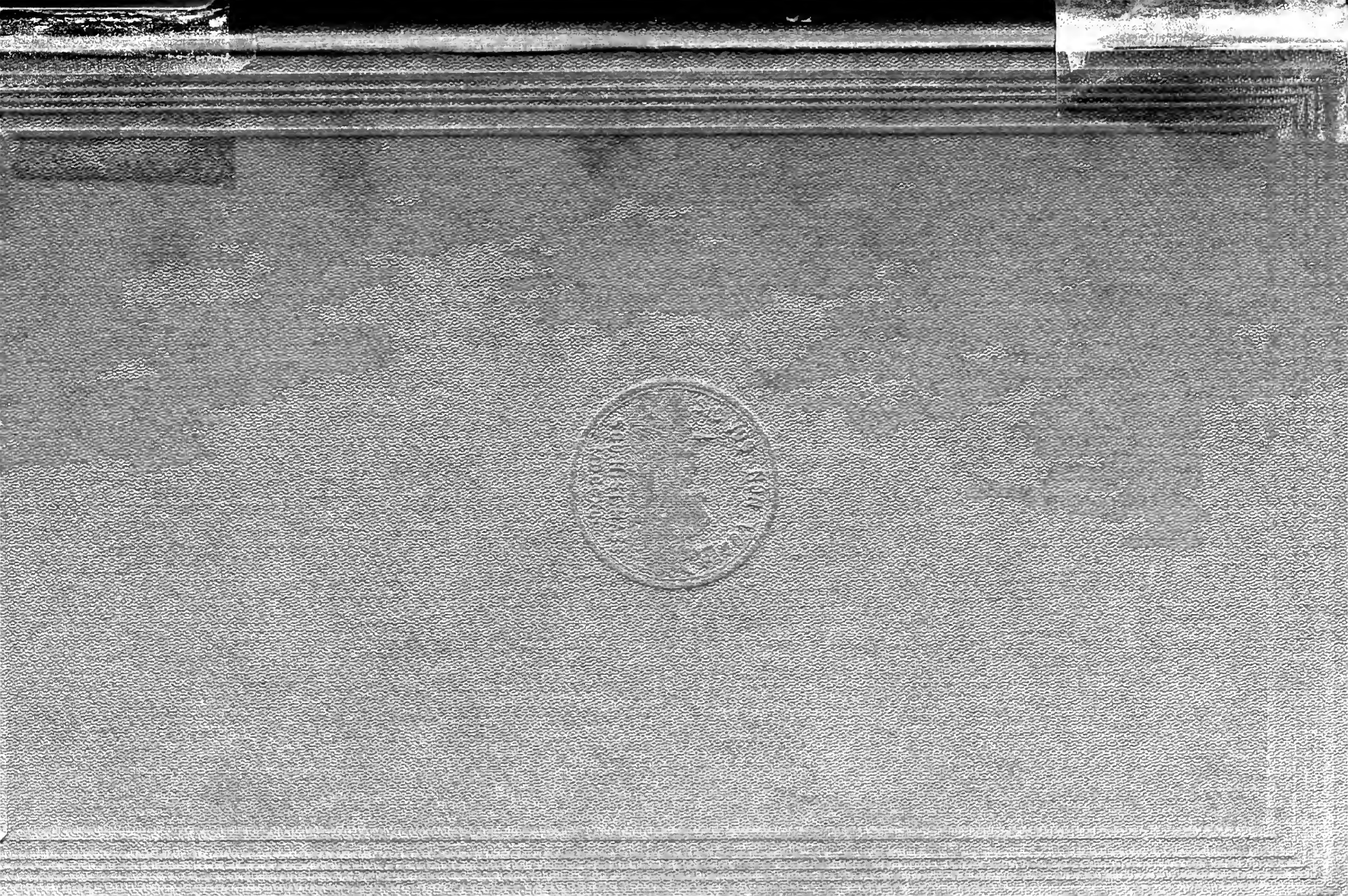

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PROCEEDINGS

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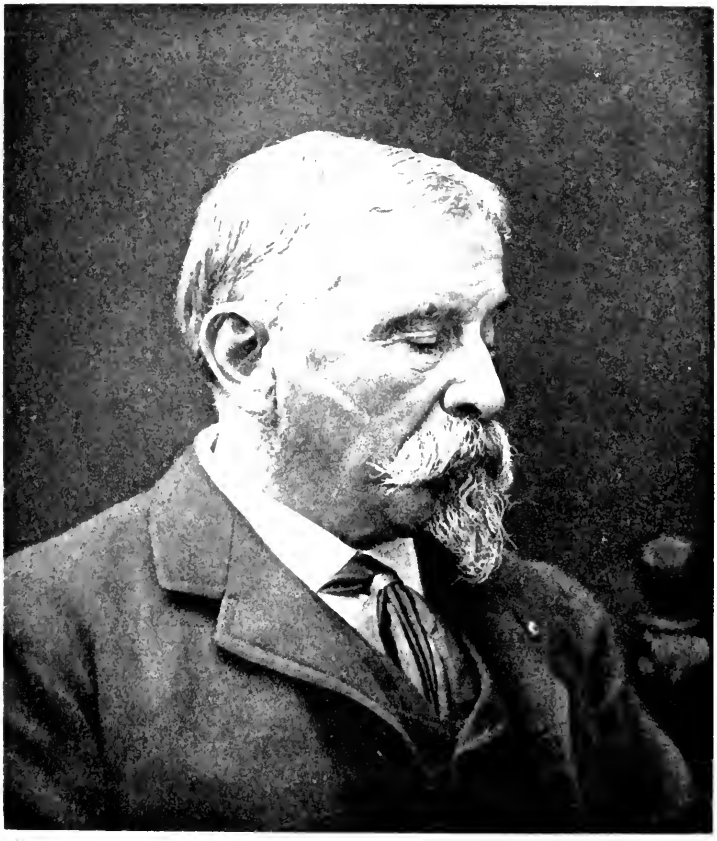

H. L. Higginson

Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

PROCEEDINGS

OCTOBER, 1919 — JUNE, 1920

VOLUME LIII

Published at the Charge of the Waterston Fund

Boston

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Rt. Hon. Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher, LL.D.
Paul Fredericq.[1]
George Lincoln Burr, LL.D.

1920.

Edwin Francis Gay, LL.D.

[1] Died March 30, 1920.

MEMBERS DECEASED.

July, 1919—June, 1920.

Resident.

1881, Henry Fitch Jenks	Jan.	31, 1920.
1897, William Roscoe Livermore	Sept.	26, 1919.
1898, Andrew McFarland Davis	March	29, 1920.
1902, Henry Lee Higginson	Nov.	14, 1919.
1906, Edward Henry Clement	Feb.	7, 1920.
1908, Henry Ernest Woods	Oct.	11, 1919.
1914, Thomas Franklin Waters	Nov.	23, 1919.

Corresponding.

1899, William Cunningham	June	10, 1919.
1905, James Schouler	April	16, 1920.
1919, Paul Fredericq	March	30, 1920.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OCTOBER MEETING, 1919.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the first Vice-President, Mr. WARREN, in the absence of the President, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Charles Francis Adams, a bust, in bronze, of Mr. Adams, by T. Spicer-Simson.

From the Boston Medical Library, two large photographs of General William T. Sherman.

From Mr. Norcross, a photograph of Francis Gardner (1812–1876), headmaster (1851–1876) of the Boston Latin School, taken about 1870.

From George L. Shepley, of Providence a photostat of a pen-and-ink sketch, by Whitman Barber, 1919, of "Shakespeare's Head," Meeting Street, Providence, which was John Carter's printing office from December, 1772, to November, 1793; also woodcuts of Harvard College, Yale College, and other colleges, and buildings in the country.

From the Misses Sarah and Joanna Williams, of Yonkers, New York, four pewter plates, made by Samuel Ellis, in London, used by General John Thomas at the time of the American war for independence, also a mortar and pestle used by him when a physician.

From Mr. Charles P. Greenough, a collection of engravings of members of the Society, authors, and others.

From Charles W. Jenks, a collection of miscellaneous engraved portraits.

From Edwin H. Brigham, two lithographs of monuments erected in 1865 in memory of the patriots who fell in the first Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861, and in the second battle, August 28–30, 1862;

also a photograph of a view in Needham, Mass., at its 200th anniversary celebration in 1911.

From F. H. Shumway, the medal of the Eastern States Exposition, at Springfield, 1919; and a medallion, in plaster, of J. A. Bolen, of Springfield, maker of fac-similes of colonial coins, one of only two that he made of himself.

From Mr. Gray, a "Jackass" $10 bill, 1880.

From the selectmen of Provincetown, by James Biram, the service medal for Provincetown men in the World War.

From Dr. Farlow, two photographs of buildings on Staniford Street, Boston, owned by the late Dr. George C. Shattuck, used for medical purposes, and in some connection with the Harvard Medical School.[1]

From Miss Susie Z. Preble, by deposit, a painting by Simqua, a Chinese artist, in 1855, of the United States chartered steamer *Queen*, George H. Preble, Lieutenant Commanding, at Canton, China; a photograph of the fight between the *Kearsarge* and *Alabama* taken from a painting by Norton belonging to Edward Ernest Preble, navigating officer of the *Kearsarge*, who furnished the sketch from which it was made; a photograph of the destroyer *Preble;* a carbon photograph of Commodore Edward Preble; and a photograph of Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble.

By purchase, two engraved caricatures, the "Hoosac Bore," and "Provision for the Convent," 1835.

By permission of the Newport Historical Society, a photostat of a colored lithographic view, by Thayer and Co., of the "Grand Mass Washingtonian Convention on Boston Common," May 30, 1844, published by F. Gleason, Boston.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher, of Sheffield, England, accepting his election as a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Editor reported the following accessions of MSS.

By gift: From Helen Mason Boynton, the papers and newspaper correspondence of her husband, the late General Henry Van Ness Boynton. Though born in Massachusetts General Boynton passed the first half of his life in Ohio, served in the civil war and was

[1] The Shattuck house, corner of Staniford and Cambridge Streets, was occupied by Dr. Shattuck as a residence. The second building, also owned by Dr. Shattuck, was on Staniford Street and was used as a clinic for women and children successively by Dr. George C. Shattuck (1870–1880), Dr. James R. Chadwick, Dr. C. P. Putnam, and Dr. J. W. Farlow (1875–1890).

brevetted for good conduct at the battles of Chickamauga and Missionary Ridge. After the war he resided in Washington and served as correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*. He wrote much on the war, notably in criticism of Sherman's *Memoirs*, and on current public questions in the period of reconstruction and after. A man of independent judgment and courage, his comments on men and measures are good history.

From Charles Stearns, the "Records of the Mercantile Elocution Class, 1835–1836, composed of members of the Mercantile Library Association of Boston, with the signatures of ninety-six members; also some papers on the Benevolent Fraternity Fund of the library.

On deposit: By Roger Wolcott, the papers and correspondence of William Hickling Prescott, the historian, containing his private and business letters, social and historical, much of which served as the foundation of Ticknor's *Life of Prescott* issued in 1864. Much that was not so used shows the extent of Prescott's studies, his investigations in Spanish sources and his purchase of manuscripts and printed books. The collection is unusual in quality for its European connections.

By purchase: Two volumes of record books of Col. Moses Little containing general orders issued before Boston, June 26–October 20, 1775, with regimental rosters and lists of furloughs; camp accounts, December 1775, appraisal of guns, receipts for wages, lists of deserters and store accounts, 1776. They were given by Eben Hale to his brother Joshua Hale and in 1875 passed into the possession of Josiah L. Hale. Colonel Little commanded the Twelfth Regiment of Foot, and served from the opening of the war to 1777, when he was obliged to retire on account of broken health.

Fred Norris Robinson, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Paul Frédéricq, of Ghent, Belgium, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. Winslow Warren read the following:

It has been a pleasant custom at the October meeting for the presiding officer to briefly review the events of the four months during which we hold no meetings, but the short notice given me of the expected absence of Senator Lodge does not allow of any elaborate study of the few months past, full as they have been of extraordinary events and of a condition of unsettlement the world over productive of unusual disturbance and giving cause for much anxiety as to the future.

An abnormal state of things for a while was to be expected

after the awful war that has upset the whole world. Millions of young men could not be taken from their usual employments and after active service in strange lands be returned to the quiet and less absorbing home life without a good deal of discontent, restlessness, and more or less inability to suddenly adjust themselves to violently changed conditions, and it is not strange that after their wider experience many are unwilling or unable to return to their former business or social relations.

We are experiencing the usual aftermath of great wars, though the magnitude of the great conflict has magnified the new conditions. Undoubtedly the long delay, made necessary by the unavoidable complications in the peace settlement and the impossibility of quickly restoring normal business activities the world over, has greatly added to the world's perplexities. The prevailing high prices have caused constant strikes, and the strikes again have caused higher prices, to the end that we have been travelling in a vicious circle, affording an opportunity for agitators and demagogues to mislead and inflame the ignorant and lawless, and to increase the difficulties encompassing us. Plainly enough the immediate need is of more work and more production, but how to procure these with the evident tendency towards shorter working hours and almost prohibitory wages is a puzzle not yet solved. There is encouragement, however, in the fact that many of the best minds in the country have devoted themselves to a study of existing conditions and to the seeking of adjustments between capital and labor which may produce a working system of co-ordination of forces, combined with a genuine co-operation. Nor is this confined to employers of labor only; it is a hopeful sign that some of the strongest and most intelligent labor leaders have been working conscientiously upon the same problem, with a pretty clear thought into the instability and unsatisfactory nature of the present relations between capital and labor. However dark the immediate outlook may be, we may look hopefully to some result of these efforts, although in all probability there may be great changes in methods of doing business and more or less shipwreck of preconceived ideas. More than ever before we need calm judgment, freedom from hysterical alarm, and an avoidance of hasty conclusions.

One thing in this country must be beyond dispute: law and

order must be and will be maintained at any cost, and the public will not endure that it shall be the sufferer because of disputes and disagreements between employers and employees. This has grown more and more obvious as relates to public service corporations, and methods must be found to prevent the constant interruption to business and consequent suffering from quarrels with which the public has little or no concern.

Here in Boston we have witnessed a dereliction of public duty which has been and is a startling lesson. It has been a mortifying sight to the people of Boston that any necessity should have arisen for the patrol of its streets by armed men. Grandly and patriotically those men have obeyed the call, but that it should have been necessary is a shameful fact.

If public officers can subordinate the public safety to their own selfish ends or can hold a divided allegiance in the performance of their duties, the community has no protection and law is of no avail. The official authorities of state and city have manfully maintained respect for the laws of the Commonwealth and have punished as they deserved unfaithful public servants: it now becomes our duty as citizens, without regard to political ties, to unreservedly support them in enforcing to the utmost respect for law and faithfulness to duty.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced the death of Col. William R. Livermore, a Resident Member, and of Rev. William Cunningham, of Cambridge, England, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. RHODES read a tribute to

WILLIAM R. LIVERMORE.

When Charles Eliot Norton paid some years ago a tribute to his friend W. W. Story he said, quoting the remark one Englishman made of another, that his talent was "too various." The same may be said of our deceased friend William R. Livermore. A graduate of West Point, he was distinguished in his profession and was noted as an excellent man in the United States Engineers. Really if one should take the account printed in the newspapers of his work as an engineer one might well consider such labor sufficient for the work of a lifetime. But he might have been a distinguished engineer without gaining admittance to this Society.

He was a remarkable scholar. I remember well that a pro-

fessor of Harvard, an Oxford graduate, said to me years ago, "Do you know you have a great scholar in Boston and his name is William R. Livermore?" That was true in the highest sense of the word. Livermore knew ancient and modern history. He exhibited some of his unpublished "Historical Atlas of Europe, Asia and North Africa, 3000 B. C. to the Present" before this Society and during his talk gave a glimpse of his wonderful learning and profound study. I purposely use the word glimpse as his time here was limited, and he could not make his associates appreciate how he had actually burned the midnight oil to arrive at the results which he showed us that afternoon. Hearing him give a number of formal talks on the subject, enjoying his intimacy, led one to know how he had compassed historical knowledge. It is quite true that in his formal talks he never did himself full justice. It was not from lack of adequate preparation but rather from diffidence when he got upon his legs and from not possessing a proper power of expression. I can read many languages, he once said to a friend, but I cannot talk my own. This was of course a statement in a moment of despair, as when he sat down to write he wrote well, but was either so modest or so reticent that he never displayed the amount of knowledge and study that was at the back of every statement. In regarding his work the thought of Thackeray in respect to Macaulay cannot fail to come: "He reads a hundred books to write a sentence; he travels a thousand miles to make a description." It is an inconsistency that Livermore, who knew his Shakespeare well, should have sometimes failed in the power of expression. He could repeat three plays by heart. I heard him one night discourse on Macbeth when he talked like one inspired, attracting great interest even if one could not follow him in his theory, which I think might have astonished Shakespeare himself. Why would he not always talk like that, I said to myself when hearing his discourses before the Thursday Evening Club and before this Society?

No one who heard his luminous and illustrated account of Napoleon's campaigns in Northern Italy which he gave towards the end of the last century before the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts could fail to see that he had grasped the strategy and tactics of this greatest of modern military masters.

John C. Ropes, who was admirably fitted to write the Story

of our Civil War and who thought to make it his life-work, died after he had completed the campaign of Fredericksburg in 1862. It was a grave question for a while whether the work should be continued, and the decision fell to John C. Gray, one of our associates. With effective discernment he selected William R. Livermore for the task. The result was two volumes carrying the story through Gettysburg in 1863. Only one who has used this work as a student, weighed each sentence, verified many of the references, can have an idea of its value. The Boston scholar, the man who knew ancient and modern history, the student of Napoleon, brought all of this wealth to bear on a study of our Civil War. Nor did he, like some men, rely alone on his general culture. He made a special study of the subject in the manner of a true specialist. He knew his Official Records and the most valuable literature of the subject. His detailed accounts of battles are unsurpassed and are simply invaluable. Most of us who write about the Civil War are obliged to illustrate our narratives by maps and are content to take those furnished by the admirable generosity of our Government or by the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts. Not so Livermore. An officer of the United States Army, a prominent member of the Military Historical Society, he used these maps simply as materials, and visiting the fields of action, using his wonderful power of observation and his technical study, made his own maps himself. We may all regret that Livermore did not live to finish the Story of the Civil War.

He was not overweighted by his materials. His characterizations of generals of the Civil War were always well worth bearing in mind. "A superior intellect," he wrote, "and long and hard study are required to make an efficient commander." To illustrate his first qualification he might have quoted Parkman, that a great general is the rare son of the tempest. Student that Livermore was, the second qualification seemed to him also necessary. By his test Hooker fails lamentably in both qualifications, as may be read in Livermore's first volume.

It is well known that some English critics in their admiration of Stonewall Jackson do injustice inferentially to Lee. How cleverly Livermore sees the merits of each! "Day and night," he wrote, "Jackson studied new combinations and was always on the alert to apply them. He saw possibilities that

would never occur to the average officer; and was always fighting imaginary battles in his head." Livermore went on in the same paragraph to remark, on Jackson's limitations and ends his paragraph with "Jackson required the intellect of Lee to keep him within bounds and direct his efforts."

I can do no better than to cite in conclusion Professor William E. Dodd's remark, who reviewed the two volumes on the Civil War in the *Dial* during October, 1913: "All who desire a fair and straightforward account of the military movements of 1863 need but turn to these volumes. And all who knew the earlier work of John C. Ropes will rejoice that the same spirit and the same keen intelligence which distinguished the author of the first part of the work also pervade the pages of Colonel Livermore's termination."

Mr. Ford read a paper on "Henry Adams, correspondent."

Mr. Stanwood gave some reminiscences of the Hales, of the *Boston Advertiser*, the paper in which the Adams communications from Washington appeared.

Mr. Tuttle then read as follows:

Roger Williams' Gift to John Endecott.

The Society has an old book, *Herwologia Anglica*, by Henry Holland, printed at Arnheim, in the Netherlands, in 1620. It contains sixty-three brief memoirs in Latin of persons of note in England in the sixteenth century with engraved portraits. There is written at the top of the first fly-leaf "Bought at the sale of Dr. Byles' books, Thomas Wallcutt 1790," in the hand of Mr. Wallcut, one of our ten founders, and our first Recording Secretary. He gave it early in 1791, among the first books of our library, and it has three of our earliest book-plates. This is one of many books and tracts given by Mr. Wallcut bearing his autograph signature, or the entry of his previous purchase. The book is in the original binding, but lacks the engraved title-page, a few leaves, and two of the portraits.

Mather Byles, the "fatherless grandson" of Increase Mather, received under Mather's will one-fourth of his library, which may have included this book. The words "Crescentius Matherus 1680" are written in it, but not in Mather's hand. Mather owned a copy, as appears by his list of October 18, 1664.[1]

[1] *Proc. Amer. Ant. Soc.*, N. S. xx. 281.

Several of the torn leaves are mended with pieces of the title page of Increase Mather's *Revolution in New England Justified*, Boston, 1690. Cotton Mather's handwriting is found on page 218, "Vide Perkinsii Effigiam in Vol. prius Operum Perkinsianorum," which refers to the missing leaf, pages 219, 220, having on its recto the portrait of Perkins. At the death of Increase Mather, his son Cotton received one-half of his library, and the book might have been in Cotton's hands before it was received by his favorite nephew, Mather Byles.

Another important entry appears in the book, in the hand of Roger Williams, "Liber Johannis Endicott ex dono fraterculi in Christo indignissimi Rogeri Williams." Below this is the autograph signature of Endecott. If Williams brought the book with him when he arrived in Boston on February 9, 1631, it passed not long afterward into the hands of Endecott, and some years later, before 1664, it found a home in the library of Increase Mather, and then traced its way to Mather Byles, either through Increase Mather's bequest to him, or through the bequest to Cotton Mather, finally reaching the hands of Thomas Wallcut, who gave it to our library in its first year. Next year the book will have its own tercentenary, and bear silent witness to interesting associations with some of our notable New England worthies during its earlier history.

MEMOIR

OF

JOHN DAVIS LONG

By ARTHUR LORD.

John Davis Long was born in the town of Buckfield, Maine, on October 27, 1838, and died at his home in Hingham, August 28, 1915.

Governor Long, as he was usually called, came of pure New England stock, going back to the first settlement of Plymouth, and his emigrant ancestors were included in the company both of the *Mayflower* and the *Ann*. His father was Zadoc Long, a prosperous merchant in Buckfield. His mother was Julia Temple Davis. Zadoc Long retired from active business in the year of his son's birth and that year became the Whig candidate for representative to Congress and received a plurality of votes at the election. In 1840 he was chosen a presidential elector. It was said of him that "he was a man of rare intellectual ability, a ready and fluent writer, and many of his poems were published in the papers of the day."

Mr. Long was fitted for college in the public schools of his native town and at Hebron Academy in the neighboring town of Hebron, and was admitted to Harvard in 1853, at the age of fourteen years. His Harvard life as told by him in the paper which he read at the meeting of this Society in June, 1909, was far from satisfactory or enjoyable. He says: "I look back upon my college education with less satisfaction than any other part of my life. I was not thoroughly fitted. I was too young. . . . I look back with a certain pathetic commiseration on myself, unwarmed for the whole four years by a single act or word expressive of interest on the part of those to whom my education was intrusted. And this is literally true. The element

MHS

of personal influence was entirely lacking. No instructor or officer ever gave me a pat on the shoulder physically, morally, or intellectually." In spite of his lack of preparation and the absence of all personal influence which he lamented, his rank as a scholar admitted him to membership in the Phi Beta Kappa, and perhaps no distinction he enjoyed more than the presidency of the Phi Beta Kappa, to which he was elected in 1904. Graduated from college in the class of 1857 with distinction, he received from his classmates the compliment of being elected their class poet.

Immediately after graduation he came to Westford, Massachusetts, and became principal of the Westford Academy. It is said that the school under his management was very prosperous, the number of pupils was unusually large, and the enthusiasm of both teachers and scholars was high-toned and abundant.[1]

In 1859, after two years of service at the Academy, he began the study of law in the Harvard Law School and in the office of Mr. Sidney Bartlett, a great leader of the Boston bar, and was admitted to the bar in 1861. He then returned to his native town to open there an office for the practice of his chosen profession. But Buckfield did not hold him long, for in 1862 he removed to Boston and maintained an office there until his death.

He married in September, 1870, Mary Woodward Glover, of Hingham, and began his residence in that town, which continued to be his home until his death. Mrs. Long died in 1882 and one of his two daughters survived him. In 1886 he married Agnes, the daughter of Rev. Joseph Dexter Pierce of North Attleboro. Mrs. Long and their one child, Pierce Long, a practising lawyer in Boston, survive him.

His first political experience was as a Democratic candidate for the Legislature in 1871–72, and he failed of an election. In 1873 he built his Hingham home; and again ran for the Legislature in 1874 and was elected as a Republican member. In the Legislature of 1875 the opportunity came to him for showing his remarkable parliamentary ability by an occasional service in the Speaker's chair; and the next year upon his return to the House he was chosen Speaker for the three years, 1876, 1877, 1878.

[1] *History of Westford*, 323.

In 1879 he was elected Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth, and in 1880–81, 1881–82 he was elected Governor. His first campaign for the governorship was against Benjamin F. Butler, whom he defeated by a majority of over fifty thousand votes, and who succeeded Governor Long as Governor in 1883, Mr. Long having declined a renomination. In accordance with the custom Harvard University conferred upon him at its first commencement after his election the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, which at that time it was considered the Governor of the Commonwealth ex-officio was entitled to receive. Governor Long was the last recipient of the degree under the ancient rule. The college authorities selected the year of Governor Butler's service as Governor as the occasion to interrupt this time-honored custom.

He was elected to the 48th Congress from the Plymouth District in 1883, and served in the 48th, 49th, and 50th Congress, 1883 to 1889, when he declined renomination.

In 1884 he was a delegate-at-large to the Republican National Convention, and placed in nomination for the presidency Senator Edmunds of Vermont, in a speech which was long remembered as a model of convention oratory.

After his retirement from Congress as the member from the Second Massachusetts District he became a member of President McKinley's Cabinet, and remained as a member of President Roosevelt's Cabinet until May, 1902, when he resigned and became senior member of the law firm of Long and Hemenway, in Boston.

In 1901 he gave to Buckfield its Public Library, naming it in honor of his father, the Zadoc Long Free Library.

In 1902, as President of the Harvard Alumni Association, he presided at the famous commencement dinner when President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay both attended and spoke, and at the election for Overseers on the same day he received the largest vote. In recognition of his eminent public services and of his rare ability as a presiding officer, he was elected during his first year of service as the President of the Board, and for eleven years, during his entire term of service, he was annually elected President without opposition.

In his busy public and professional life he found time to deliver and publish many addresses and orations, to publish

a *History* of the American Navy, and a translation of Aeneid, and two volumes of verses. In his volume entitled *After Dinner and Other Speeches*, published in 1895, we find addresses on Daniel Webster, Wendell Phillips, Grant, Sherman, Longfellow, Garfield, Andrew, on the 250th anniversary of the settlement of Cambridge, the 250th anniversary of the incorporation of Sandwich, Forefathers' Day at Plymouth, and the Fourth of July Oration delivered in Boston in 1882.

There was little of shadow and a great deal of sunshine in his more than threescore and ten of happy and useful years. Among the personal qualities that contributed to his remarkable success in many directions and which made him both honored and beloved, I think of the first importance was his singularly attractive personality. He had, as one who knew him best defined it, "a genius for companionship." He seemed to find that pleasure in companionship, not merely with scholars and public men, but particularly with the plain people whom he knew and understood and thoroughly sympathized with.

He had also an extraordinary capacity for continuous and effective work. He never wasted any time and he never had any idle moments. His translation of the Aeneid may not be classed by scholars among the great translations of Virgil, but it was a remarkable thing that as he sat at the Speaker's desk during the Legislature of 1877 and 1878 he could make so good a translation. In its preface he confesses "disappointment at finding such dearth of humor, that next best thing in the world," and although he agrees that the Aeneid is an immortal poem, he says, "The world could better lose it all than the Psalms of David or a verse of Whittier." Upon which conclusion I suppose there would be no general concurrence of opinion.

It was not an affectation that he translated Virgil while presiding over debates in the Massachusetts Legislature. It was written because he wanted to be busy doing something, and this translation, in his opinion, would contribute to the enjoyment and enrichment of his vocabulary and undoubtedly leave him never at a loss on any occasion for the graceful and appropriate word.

During his life he never went home from his law office or from his desk at the State House, in Congress, or the Cabinet,

and left anything undone which ought to have been done that day. His working table was never in confusion. Everything was in order and everything disposed of. He could more rapidly receive, hear and answer an applicant for position or aid than any of his contemporaries, and at the same time leave the impression upon the mind of the applicant that he had received all the attention that he could fairly ask, and that if his application was refused, it would be a source of regret to the Governor. When he was Secretary of the Navy his waiting-room would be filled with visitors awaiting their turn. To attempt to interview each one with the formalities incident to his reception and withdrawal would have wasted an immense amount of time. His usual practice was to take a stenographer and go down the line of waiting applicants, hear each man's brief story, and answer it at once if he could, with the result that the individual made his story brief and was gratified to find that he was relieved of the necessity of waiting several hours for his turn.

It was a fortunate and happy faculty, this capacity for continuous and well-directed labor, without haste and without rest. He had the kindliest impulses. He liked to say pleasant things. That was a great factor in his political success and some people have assumed that that personal interest which he showed in the simple affairs and details of life of his constituents was based upon a lively sense of favors to come, but there is no foundation whatever for that theory. He was always ready to say the pleasant word or do the helpful act without the slightest thought of its effect upon his political prospects, and where there was no other reason than that he knew it would gratify or help the persons to whom his remarks were addressed, or upon whom his call was made, and that they would value it. It was only natural that this innate courtesy and thoughtfulness and consideration should greatly endear him to all the people whom he met.

He had also a remarkable sense of humor. It was at all times a quaint, simple, country, New England humor. He never told a story. His humor or wit, as you may call it, was a product of his imagination and not of his memory. It was a humor which differed from Mr. Reed's, it was less quotable but it was never sharp or cutting, and it left no wounds. It was a pleasant thing, said in an unexpected way, which everybody present

enjoyed, the subject of his humorous comment no less than the interested listener, and the Governor himself. It had a quality of quaintness which gave it a peculiar charm.

He was an admirable presiding officer on all occasions, thoroughly familiar with Parliamentary Law; he knew it so well he was not embarrassed by his knowledge, and had the faculty of presiding so that everybody had an opportunity to speak, and when he reached the conclusion that the subject had been fully discussed and that what else might be said could be of no useful contribution to the subject, he tactfully managed to conclude the debate, and when the meeting adjourned all that had been done was well done, without undue delay or haste, and the result was that the meeting was always a success and the pleasant, witty, effective and admirable way in which he presided was recognized as an important contribution to that result.

His public speeches were always felicitous and well adapted to the occasions where they were delivered. They were not intended to have any distinct historical value. Antiquarian or original research did not interest him. He cared little for dates. The formal historical address, such as Mr. Winthrop or Mr. Hoar or Mr. Adams made, represented an amount of labor which to Governor Long would seem utterly disproportionate to the result or the occasion. His speech in the Convention, when he placed in nomination George F. Edmunds for the presidency, called out this high tribute from so competent an authority as Andrew D. White: "Considering the occasion, the purpose and its effect, it was *great* among great speeches."

His argument to the jury for the defence in the case of Commonwealth *vs.* Trefethen, was a masterpiece of jury oratory, and unsurpassed by any argument in a criminal case in the opinion of those who heard it. His oration on Abraham Lincoln was perhaps the most eloquent of his addresses, and will rank with the best of the many tributes to the martyred President.

He had not a particle of conceit. He had a very just appreciation of his own abilities and his public performances. He had no doubt of his capacity to meet the requirements of any occasion. But he also believed that there were an hundred other men who, if the opportunity and occasion had presented itself, would have done the work just exactly as well. He once

said that he could fill an hundred cabinets from Massachusetts and that he could find a cabinet officer in almost every board of selectmen in any town in the state. That seems perhaps an extravagant statement and a hasty generalization, but it represented an abiding conviction of the Governor, of the capacity of the average man if an opportunity were given him. That everybody's place could be filled and that there was no occasion which would be likely to arise in human history in the future any more than there had been in the past, when there could not be found some Massachusetts man who would be perfectly qualified to carry on the work, he thoroughly believed. It was a sincere belief.

And lastly, the distinguishing characteristic of Governor Long was his sound common sense. He was always safe and sane. He did the right thing and he did it in the right way to secure the result which he sought. There are few public men in Massachusetts who in a long public career have made so few mistakes. He brought to the decision of public questions that which, after all, best helps in their solution, not so much the knowledge of the expert or the student, but the conclusions of a well trained and sane mind, based upon experience and observation, impartial and unprejudiced.

He had the happy fortune to come on to the stage at the right time for the employment and development of his particular powers of usefulness and service. He was a typical New Englander, true to the traditions and manners and customs and mode of thought of New Englanders. He understood them and they understood him. He was one of them and they regarded him with affection and respect.

And so the happy years went by and the last years brought him more quiet enjoyment, and satisfaction, and peace, than those earlier years, richer in public honors. It was an unusual privilege to be able truthfully to write on his seventy-fifth birthday, in reply to a letter of congratulation suggesting some public recognition of the event: "I have no wish to conceal my age. On the contrary I rather like it, and I think I can say that it is the happiest time of a very happy life." His death came before the grasshopper became a burden and desire failed.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. Storer and Stanwood.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the President, the first Vice-President, Mr. WARREN, occupied the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian called attention to the recent gift, by Mr. Ellerton James, of Milton, of a complete set of *The Gentleman's Magazine* from its beginning in 1731 to the year 1907, in fine and uniform binding, a series which is now difficult to obtain. The volumes contain much interesting and valuable contemporary material relating to American affairs.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Charles W. Jenks, an engraving by Amos Doolittle, New Haven, March 1, 1794, with the legend, "A Display of the United States of America."

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, two French war posters, "Sous les Ailes," and "L'Emprunt de la Libération."

From Mrs. A. Clarke Walling, a piece of wall paper, framed, from the Paul Revere House.

From John W. Farwell, a signed proof of his bookplate, engraved by Sidney L. Smith.

From the estate of Charles Carleton Coffin, a book of stock certificates, 1861, of the Confederate States, with a few blanks remaining.

From Miss Ellen A. Robbins Stone, of Lexington, engravings of Rev. Caleb Stetson, Nathan Robbins, and Mrs. Eliza Lee Follen.

From Mrs. James Barr Ames, of Cambridge, an Anti-Slavery "Liberty Bell," used in the home of her parents, George R. and Sarah (Shaw) Russell, in Louisburg Square, Boston.

From Mr. Norcross, photograph views of the old Feather Warehouse, in Boston, of the Parkman House on Hanover Street, and of the shop of Joseph Foster, goldsmith, on North Street; and the medal of the Boston Congress of the Sons of the American Revolution, struck in 1912, showing the Old State House.

From Henry Pennypacker, Headmaster of the Boston Latin School, the bronze medal of the Massachusetts High School Athletic Association.

From Fred Joy, two souvenir pennies of Louisburg.

From H. A. Gray, a Swift and Company "dollar."

From the Whitehead and Hoag Company, of Newark, N. J., the Robbins Company, of Attleboro, Mass., the selectmen of Lincoln, of Milton, and of Winchester, Mass., from G. E. Campbell, of Wakefield, and from Philip E. Brady, Mayor of Attleboro, a collection of service medals awarded to returned soldiers and to families of deceased soldiers.

From Dr. Farlow, a photograph of King Edward and Emperor William, taken in Homburg, perhaps in 1909, which he bought there in August, 1911.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Fred Norris Robinson, of Cambridge, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Editor reported the following gifts of MSS.:

From George Peabody Wetmore, a letter of Washington Hunt to George Dawson, January 26, 1845, on Native Americanism and the admission of Texas into the Union.

From Mrs. Charles A. Prince, granddaughter of Rufus Choate and daughter of Ellerton Pratt, a number of letters, 1807–1824, among others from Daniel Webster, Mills Olcott and Jeremiah Mason. They come to the Society at the instance of Senator Lodge.

From Dr. Edward H. Bradford, a letter of Rev. Charles Lowell, without year, addressed to the editors of the *Christian Register*, on Bishop Cheverus.

From Miss Edith Crehore, papers on property in Avon Place, Boston, bought in 1849 by her parents Edward and Sarah Minns (Tileston) Crehore.

From Ellen A. Robbins Stone, of Lexington, papers on abolition.

From George L. Shepley, a photostat reproduction of a copy of a list of Providence Records turned over to Roger Williams and others in 1678.

From Charles Hunt, a list of pew taxes in the West Boston Meeting House, 1819–1823.

From George W. Thacher, the records of the Williams Market Corporation, 1851–1919.

On behalf of Philippe Marcou, Mr. BOWDITCH presented some manuscripts of unusual interest and importance, being papers from the family of Jeremy Belknap, a founder of this Society. Among them are the following: Washington to Belknap, January 5, 1785, acknowledging the first volume of the *History*

of New Hampshire; another, June 15, 1798, relating to the *American Biography*, and a third, July 12, enlarging his subscription to that work. With these Washington letters are a letter of Ebenezer Hazard enclosing the first, and a letter of Andrew E. Belknap in reply to the third, stating that it was received after the death of Rev. Mr. Belknap. Also a letter from Tobias Lear, April 9, 1791, on Washington's correspondence with Governor Chittendens towards the close of the War for Independence. With those papers are a commonplace Book kept by Jeremy Belknap, and letters from Mr. Robert C. Winthrop and George E. Ellis to Miss Elizabeth and Andrew E. Belknap, with replies.

Lawrence Shaw Mayo, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

George Lincoln Burr, of Ithaca, New York, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Vice-President announced the death of Henry Ernest Woods, a Resident Member, and Mr. NORCROSS spoke as follows:

As most of you probably know, Mr. Woods was found dead in his bathroom at the Hotel Weldon in Greenfield, on the eleventh of October. He died about 2 o'clock in the morning of angina pectoris, as it was learned, but he had no previous warning of heart trouble. He had been on a few days' trip of inspection of the towns in that vicinity in the course of his duty as Commissioner of Public Records.

Mr. Woods was born in Boston, July 5, 1857. His family was from Groton, his grandfather's house being next or next but one to that of Dr. Green. His great-grandfather was Gen. Henry Woods who served as one of Colonel Prescott's officers at Bunker Hill.

Mr. Woods attended Chauncy Hall School in Boston and for some reason did not go to Harvard College with other members of his class, but he kept up a close association with them, and after their graduation in 1881 he went abroad with several of them (among whom was Curtis Guild) and remained for some two years, visiting many parts of the old world quite unusual for tourists at that time, such as Northern Africa, Turkey, and Asia Minor. He was in business for a short time

but soon became interested in historical and genealogical matters and was an active member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, serving on its Council and editing its *Register* from 1901 to 1907, at the same time supervising the publication of 32 volumes of the Massachusetts Vital Records. In 1907 Gov. Curtis Guild appointed him Commissioner of Public Records to succeed Robert T. Swan, deceased, and this office he held under reappointments until his death.

Mr. Swan had for a few years been unable on account of ill health to visit the various towns in the state, making his inspection by correspondence only, and conditions had become quite bad. Mr. Woods at once began regular tours of inspection, and my intimate acquaintance with him began about this time, when I went with him on many of his trips. I have continued to do this ever since — during the last summer making four trips with him — once to all the towns on Cape Cod and another to southern Berkshire. There are only some half dozen towns in the state that I have not visited with him. He could cover the entire state about once in three years, though he visited many towns more often as occasion required. His work was to see that all the public records of cities, towns, counties, and courts were properly safeguarded against loss by fire and damage by careless usage. At first it was not uncommon to find the record book of births, deaths and marriages on the counter of a country store of which the proprietor had been chosen Town Clerk. Now it is very different and cases of extreme carelessness are rare and usually occur when a new official is chosen who has not yet learned all the requirements of his office.

I was much interested in the tact displayed by Mr. Woods in dealing with the town and county officials who in the early days often looked on him as an intruder and were inclined to put obstacles in his way. He always was good-tempered but firm, and careful to explain the law and his position under it, and before leaving the town he was usually on friendly terms with the officers, who were ready to co-operate with him in carrying out his suggestions.

He was elected a member of this Society in 1908, but was prevented by the requirements of his office from attending the meetings as often as he would have liked.

He was devoted to his official work and in the administration of the Commonwealth he filled an important niche for which he was unusually well suited.

Mr. MELVILLE M. BIGELOW read a paper on "The Family in English History," being a chapter of a forthcoming volume of similar studies.

SHERIFF GREENLEAF'S ACCOUNT, 1761–62.

1761		County of Suffolk, To Stephen Greenleaf, Dr.			
Febry.	9	To fees for dispers'g Proclamation to prorogue the Gen'll Court to 4th March . . .	–	9	–
	19	Ditto the Laws for Observation of the Sabbath	–	9	–
	21	Ditto for Valuation of Estates . . .	–	9	–
	23	Proclamo. for prorog'g the Court to 18th March	–	9	–
		50 Treasurers Warrants to the Constables and Collectors	–	16	8
Ap'll		To ¼ years allow'ce for a Whipper	2	10	–
	10	Dispers'g 53 Proclamo. for the Annual Fast. .	1	6	6
	22	Sending out Precepts for a new Assembly . .	2	–	–
	24th	To Adjourn'g the Infer'r Court by Proclamation and posting up Notifications, etc. . .	–	6	–
		To sending out Venires for Ap'll Court . . .	–	6	–
		To Cash p'd two Men watching the Goal two Nights while the Lock was mending . . .	–	4	10
		Dispers'g Proclamo. for prorog'g the Court to 25th M'ch	–	9	–
June		To the Venires for July Court	–	6	–
July		To ¼ Years Allowance for a Whipper . . .	2	10	–
		To the Venires for Aug't Sup'r Court . . .	–	6	–
Augt.		Proclamo. for prorog'g the Court to the 16th Sepr.	–	9	–
	19	To Sending out 18 Treasures Warrants to the Towns	–	6	–
		Do. 18 Tax Acts @ 16	–	9	–
	25	Do. 54 Proclamo. for Prayer for Rain	1	7	–
	31	Do. prorog'g the Court to 14th Octob'r . .	–	9	–
Sepr.	10	To my trouble in pilloring Jeremy Dexter . .	1	–	–
		To Cash p'd for drink to the Constables . .	–	6	–
	26	Dispers'g Proclamo. for prorog'g the Court to 11th Novr	–	9	–
		Venires for Octob. Court	–	6	–

Octo.		To ¼ years Allowance for a Whipper . . .	2 10 –
		To my trouble with several Officers in Search'g Col. Doty's house for tools to make dollars and for Treasurers Notes, per Warr't from Col. Brattle	– 12 –
		To 1 Officer sent to Stoughton to apprehend Doty, himself and horse and keeping him two days Custody	– 12 –
Nov.	9	To dispers'g 54 proclamo. for Thanksgiving .	1 7 –
Dec.		To Venires for Jany Court	– 6 –
		To 18 County tax Warrants	– 6 –
Jany		To ¼ years Allowance for a Whipper . . .	2 10 –
		To a years Allow'ce for keep'g the Goal . .	10 – –
			£36 1 –

Boston, Jany. 12th, 1762

Errors Excepted.

S. Greenleaf

We being appointed to audit and examine the foregoing Account Report that the same is right Cast and the Charges therein agreeable to Law.

Joshua Winslow
Foster Hutchinson
Committee.

From Timothy Pickering, Sr.[1]

To my brethren in the 13 United American Colonys or States.

I have lived in the Reigns of Three Kings, who have always Protected me, and I have all along paid them a moderate Tribute as you have done. I never had any Reason to be Jealous, or afraid of Oppression. Parliament's Readiness to Repeal Duty Acts of late years Proves How Very Desirous they were of Living in Friendship with the Colonys. Their saying that we must be Subject to them *in all Cases whatsoever* is like the Decree that Came out from Augustus Caesar, that *all the World should be taxed.* Such Declarations are always to be Understood with their Proper Limitations. Our Maxim, *No Representation, No Taxation,* in my Opinion, is Quite Childish, *all things Considered.* We had best look at home to find *Oppression* for it has been so Great and Generall in our Northern Governments of late that they have been Obliged to make Penall Laws to suppress it. And How have wee for many Years, *Oppressed* Africans with

[1] (1703–1778.) See *Pickering Genealogy,* 1. 81.

Slavery not suffering them to enjoy either Liberty or Property, Especially in our Southern Governments. Coveting and stealing their Children for Slaves, or Receiving them of those that do, has all along been the Occasion of Civill Wars in that Country. The same Measure we meet is measuring to us again. Our Slavers are advised to pay their Africans for their Past Services and to Let them Goe free. Jer'h 22.13. Isaiah 58.6.

Forty of fifty thousand Widows and fatherless Children with many Others, suffered most Grievous Wrongs in Our four New-England Governments from the Year 1710 to 1750. by the Breaches of the Publick faith with Respect to our then paper Money. This may be Called Devouring Widows Houses. A People who Chuse such men for their Representatives for many Years together, who Deliberately violate the Publick faith in an Affair *so materiall as this*, Deserve to lose their Country. (Ananias and Saphira lost *their lives* for their falsity about a little Money.) Their making that Money a tender in all Payments had the same mischievous effects as the Setting up Divers Weights. Its easy for Honest Clergymen to show, that it will be *much more* tollerable for *Sodom* at the Day of Judgment then for us, if thease with our many Other Publick Sins were Brought into the Account.

My Brethren, We keep our Eye on Our Affliction, A Providentiall Punishment, not on the Sin that occasions it, and this undoes us.

TIM'O PICKERING.

Salem N. E. June 4. 1777.

P. S. With Respect to Mobs.

There was one in Sodom when they Came near to Break Lot's Door. There was one in Boston when they Broke open Mr. Hutchinson's House and Plundered it. There was another when they Broke open the Ships at Boston and Destroyed a Great deal of Merchandize belonging to some of our Brethren in Old England. There was another in Gibeah of Benjamin. This Brought on a Civil War in which 75 Thousand Men were Slain. See Judges 19 and 20 Chap'rs.

T. P.

[Endorsed] Piece signed Timo. Pickering. Not printed.[1]

Mr. Stephen W. Phillips, of Salem, courteously permits the Society to print the following two letters in his possession:

[1] From the original in the Society's MSS.

JEFFREY AMHERST TO JOHN BRADSTREET.

Camp at Crown Point,
Novr. 2d. 1759.

Sir — I have this morning received your letter and I have sent Lt. Colonel Robertson to the landing place to send over the boats in the best manner he can for bringing the Provisions. if we can do it by the large boats it will be much better at this season than by employing a number of men in Batteaus. The weather is so severe that I must close the works here as fast as I possibly can the Artillery that I allot for Fort George and Fort Edward is in part gone, and the remainder shall be sent out of the way without delay. The Provincial Regiments will all march (Schuylers excepted) by No 4 but they must send their Baggage and a Guard of each Regiment with it over Lake George and to Albany this will require carriages to Fort Edward from thence to Albany, I should suppose, the best method will be sending them in batteaus down the Hudson's River. Then there will be wagons or carriages wanted for the transportation of the baggage of the Royal, Prideaux's, Montegomerys, Gages, and the Royal Highlanders to their Quarters, so that I would have you prepare what carriages you may judge necessary at Fort George, and as you have no demands for the cattle from People in New England, I believe the best method will be to take some cattle back here for the Carriages. Lt. Col. Robertson will see at the landing place how things go on and what can be done and will give you information of the state they are in, by which you will be so good to make the best preparations you can that the Troops may not be stopped in their march but as little as possible, as the Season is so far advanced and I imagine it will be between the tenth and fifteenth instant that I shall march all the Troops from this place. I am, Sir, Your most obedient Servant,

JEFF AMHERST.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN TO JOHN LOWELL.

My dear Sir — You know that I spent most of the winter in this town and on business of this state and that I went at their request to Newport with the Militia at my own expense. I have accounted for every farthing of the money I received out of the treasury prior to my taking the command.

It is painful to me to make a charge of these matters tho my expenses have been very great, for I am a public officer and the whole of my time should be spent in the service of my country yet as the business I did for the State at a time when I was doing the duty of a

continental officer increased my expenses I can hardly omit a charge in justice to my family. I shall omit it but would with pleasure receive a little wine or Spirits from the state which they have in store in consideration of my attention to their matters in particular.

If you think the measure proper and that it would be agreeable to the House will you move it?

I am my Dr Sir, Yours affectionately,

B LINCOLN.

31st of May, 81

Mr. Robert D. W. Connor, Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, contributes the two following letters from the Johnston collection at Hayes.

ELIHU HEWES TO JOSEPH HEWES.

Should this reach its destin'd Port, you will receive a Letter from a new Corner of the world in a very gloomy Crisis.

I can't well discribe the Satisfaction and Support it affords me to find you are plac'd in so conspicuous and Honourable a Department for the Defence of our excellent Constitution. I have been moved from Boston several years, but not being able to get a Sloupe Suitable I never mov'd my goods, only such as I could not do without, the Rest I left with a Valuable Friend who has lately been glad to make his Escape and leave his as well as Mine to the tender Mercies of the Wicked. I live now about 280 miles Eastward from Boston on a River call'd Penobscott about 23 miles above Fort Pownal where I mov'd near 2 years ago. It is a fine Healthy Country well Water'd the River abounding with various kinds of Fish, in particular fine Salmon in abundance at this Season; The land extraordinary good & well Water'd with fine Springs and Brooks. I never saw a Country that pleas'd me so well, and my Health is much restored. But our Settlement being very Yong the greater part of the Inhabitants have not been here Three years which makes great Difficulty in procuring the Necessities of Life. But Nevertheless we are very Firm being determined to encounter every Difficulty and Sacrifice our lives rather than yield to that System of Tyranny which I find by the by has been long forming against America, this I am confirmed in by an Anecdote or two that has come to my knowledge since my Residence on this River for I am distant Neighbor to Colol: Thomas Goldthwaite Commander of Fort Pownal who was a Member of our Assembly for many years and particularly in the year 1762, who told me that Richard Jackson Esqr: was then Agent for the Massachusetts Province and that in some of his private

Letters which he wrote after his appointment, He intimated his Fears that it would not be in his Power to do the Province much Service as there was a Principle prevailing in England at that Time to render the Colony Assemblys useless, Col. G. also says Mr. Bollin (who was Agent before Mr. Jackson) was continually warning the Assembly of this Principle then Prevailing in England, and yet those Gentlemen were turned out of their Agency on Suspition that they were not in the Interest of the Province, Certainly they were faithful as touching the most important Matter, whatever part of their conduct might give umbrage to their Constituants, but as what Mr. Jackson wrote was in a private Letter be careful of exposing my Authors Name except it tends to Public Service and if I receive an Answer likely I may write more of these Affairs. You'l have an Opportunity of an Acquaintance with Colol: John Hancock who is the Superior Man our Province affords. I have had an Opportunity to Eye him from the Moment his Uncle left the World and Him invested with an Independent Fortune. His whole Time since has been spent in a Round of Benevolent Acts, and Opposing the Enemies of His Country. I hope you'l contract an Intimacy with him, my Indegent Circumstances only has kept me from an Intimate Acquaintance with him for he was Accessible to the Poorest as well as the Rich.

Should the God of our Fathers prosper us so as to bring on an Accommodation; Among other Grievances I look on the Greenwich Hospital Money exacted from our American Seamen to be a very Capital One.

We are here in a Deplorable Condition on Account of Cloathing and must be worse; Tho' could we get Wool and Flax we could Fabricate & Manufactor our own Ware so as to be creditable and Comfortable. We should Pay in Good Lumber, could any way be Devis'd to furnish us with the Articles we want.

But I must draw to a Close: May the God of all Grace Prosper and Succeed you in the Glorious Cause you are ingaged In, that so these Difficulties may be Settled to your Honours and the Lasting Comfort of this much Percicuted Continent, This is the ardent Prayer of one who holds you the closest in Love & Esteem of any of your Sex, fro your Homb. Servt:

ELIHU HEWES.

Fort Pownal, 10 June 1775.

on this River since the first of May there has been caught above 100 Moose the 4 Quartrs: of some of them would weigh from 800 to 1000 Wt: 'tis the finest Meet for a Stake or Stew that I ever Eat and equal to Beef Roasted when fresh.

I have wrote to Docr. Warren Pr: of our Congress as I had the Honr of being well Acquainted with Him at Boston.

Addressed to Joseph Hewes Esqr. in the Continental Congress, To The Care of Joseph Warren Esq., President of the Massachusetts Congress in New England. By Favr. Capt. Buck. 10th June 1775.

JAMES IREDELL TO ——— JOHNSON.

Richmond, May 29th, 1793.

My dear Sir — I was very happy in receiving the letter you were so good as to write me of the 21st. The satisfaction of hearing you were all well is a great one indeed. I continue perfectly so, and have the pleasure to inform you that I have received a letter from Mrs. Iredell dated the 22d. by which I have reason to hope they were all well in Philadelphia. She mentioned the children expressly, and said nothing in particular in regard to herself, but wrote chearfully.

P. Henry has been speaking these two days, and tho' he spoke 4 hours each day I was not in the least tired. He is certainly the first orator I ever heard — speaks with the most ease, the least embarrassment, the greatest variety, and with an illustration of imagery altogether original but perfectly correct. His manner too in respect to his adversaries is very gentlemanly, and I am told it always is, and that notwithstanding he is the Idol of every popular Assembly he never was known to say anything personally offensive but in his own defence and then he is always sure to make his adversaries repent their attack. He is a much more solid character and better Reasoner than I expected to find him, and I have every reason to believe from accounts received of him here by many gentlemen that he is a man of real benevolence and integrity. You may imagine as to his oratory I am quite impartial for in the course of many points he has argued he has not satisfied me in the slightest degree as to anything but the Payments into the Treasury about which I still hesitate. I am astonished to find that the Defendant's lawyers here, who are certainly very able Men think the defence as to the breach of the Treaty by G. B. seriously tenable. But I was much more so to find (entre nous) that Mr. Johnson and Mr. Griffin were doubtful about it, and I believe for this reason principally directed a second argument. On this point neither Mr. Jay or myself had a shadow of doubt for one moment. Perhaps we may differ eventually about the payments into the Treasury but I am not sure. The indication of my opinion at present is in support of them. The court will cer-

tainly not be over till next week but what time in the week I can't conjecture. I will not fail to acquaint you of our determination.

I do not forget that this is the anniversary of your marriage, I congratulate you and Mrs. Johnston upon it, and hope you will both live to commemorate many happy returns of it. Be pleased to remember me very affectionately & respectfully to Mrs. Johnston, and Mr. and Mrs. McKenzie, and to Mrs. Swann when you see her, and to give my love to Gaby and Helen. Be so good as to tell Helen I have very favourable accounts of James, & that he can now read. I had a very pretty letter from Annie, intirely of her own dictating and spelling, and without a single fault.

Adieu! my dear Sir. I am ever very respectfully and affectionately yours,

JA. IREDELL.

WILLIAM FLEMING TO ——— PRESTON.[1]

Sir,

I have by this Opportunity sent you some of the books you favored me with Viz the Dean of Colrain 3 vols Blakes Moris 1 vol: the manuscript of Salus trip to New Orleans. As to the first it pleased me when a boy but I see innumerable defects in it now. The Adventures of Morris is a low ill Conducted thing. He Affects the Misanthrope, but sinks wretchedly in the Characterre in soaring to the fame of a Satirist, he proves the Author a mean snarling libeller. What induced me to Covet the reading of his Adventures was his laying one of his scenes in the Iland of Fernando Po where I myself was in more real, than he in imaginary distress. but I sufficiently paid for my Curiosity by reading such a heap of indigested Stuff. The taste of the Age is much altered from what it was formerly in the Choice of Books of Amusement. In the dawn of literature, the monks who were the only learned men of their age, threw out to the Illiterate many, as Mariners do a tub to a whale, incredible stories of enchanted Castles, flying horses and huge Giants, which Amazed the Gaping crowd, and made them Glibly swallow the more absurd Empostures palm'd upon them, by those unerring teachers of Religion. As the Power of the Monasteries decreased, learning amongst the many increas'd. As I dont design to trace the different tastes of different ages down to the Present, and shall only observe that Novels first appeard in an English dress, in Charles the Seconds time, when by degrees introduced Memoirs, Adventures, and after some imperfect essays, Fielding with your favorite heroes and Smollets inimitable Roderick Random fixt the reading of the Baga-

[1] From the Preston Papers in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

telle of the present age to the History of Private Persons. They Introduce mixed Characters real and Imaginary. I know and have seen several of Smollets heroes, And Allworthy your near relation is the real Characture of Squire Allan near Bristol to whom he dedicates his Sophia a favorite book of mine, their real Characture are so disguisd as not emediatly to point out the person describd, yet they never loose sight of the Grand Constituents of the Characterre which makes it only suit the person they intend. And those who know the original cannot be mistaken in the Coppy. Where they paint this in any form they spare the person but they lash the fault. they sooth at the same time they expose oure Crimes. for want of Observing this rule I think is the reason that Swifts Gulliver, The Severest Satire I know is universally Admir'd but leaves a secret disgust on the mind of the reader. they are well acquainted with the Geography of the Country and the Manners of the People where they lay their Sceines and wherever an Author deviates from these rules he fails of Pleasing.

The Manuscript is not well done and contains some contradictions. Yet some part of it is of use to me.

I hope you will send me for this Opportunity the first Vol: of Brownes Voyage to the levant. The first leafe of Sallus Journall and 40 Grains of Red Precipitate for my horse, and you will greatly oblidge, Dr. Tom, your most Obedt. Humble Servt.

WM. FLEMING.

Vausses, Decr. 17, 1756.

P:S: My Compliments to the young ladyes — I wish them a Merry Cristenmas and good husbands.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. THAYER, RHODES, and EMERTON.

MEMOIR

OF

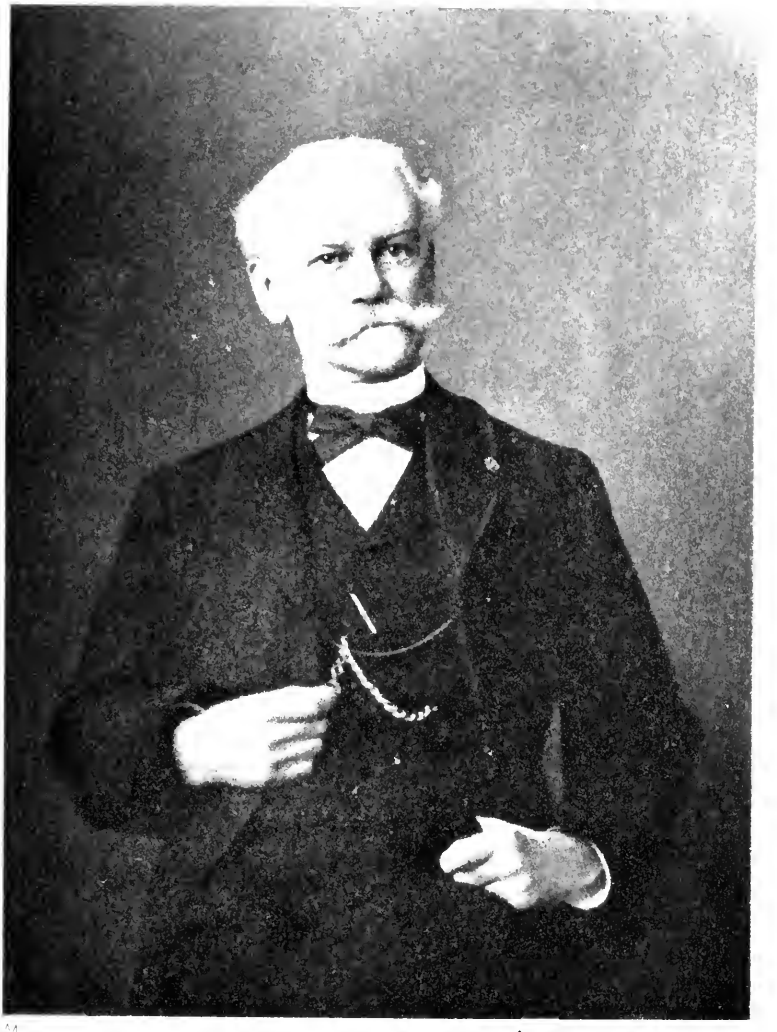
ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND

By J. HARRIS AUBIN.

Arnold Augustus Rand was born in Boston, March 25, 1837, the son of Edward Sprague Rand and Elizabeth Arnold Rand. The family home was on Mount Vernon Street, afterwards on Beacon Street opposite the Public Garden, with a summer place in Dedham. A boyhood spent in such surroundings, attending St. Paul's Church and Mr. Dixwell's school, is to be accounted fortunate in including much that was typical of the best in the Boston of those days. A course at a school in Vevey, Switzerland, where one of his fellow pupils was J. Pierpont Morgan, and further European travel at an impressionable age, lent a tinge of old-world distinction and charm to a thoroughly American personality.

Returning to Boston, Arnold Rand entered the office of one of the old-time shipping firms on the water-front. Here long hours and strict discipline laid the foundation of a habit of unflagging industry which endured through life. Subsequent employment in the banking house of Blake Brothers and Company had led as far as the responsible post of cashier, which, with its excellent prospects, was relinquished at the outbreak of the war.

Entering service as a private in the Fourth Battalion of Infantry, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, there followed a brief period at Fort Independence, Boston Harbor, without muster into United States service. In the fall of 1861, commissions in the First Massachusetts Cavalry, then being



Sincerely

organized under the command of Col. Robert Williams, a West Point graduate and a strict disciplinarian, were much sought after, and the young soldier was fortunate in obtaining a second lieutenancy, October 30, 1861, joining his troop in camp at Readville.

An opportunity soon arose for Lieutenant Rand to utilize the knowledge he had gained in his early shipping experience on Long Wharf. As acting battalion quartermaster, he won the approval of his Colonel by efficient loading of horses and equipment on board of transports, and in consequence was promoted to a captaincy February 4, 1862, over the heads of the other subalterns. The regiment was sent to the vicinity of Port Royal, South Carolina, and saw arduous service in scouting and outpost duty. Captain Rand resigned from the regiment to accept a commission from President Lincoln as Captain, Assistant Adjutant General, United States Volunteers, June 3, 1863, serving in South Carolina on the staff of Brigadier General Rufus Saxton, commanding the Military District. Captain Rand was offered the command of a regiment of freedmen, one of the first Negro regiments to be organized in the South, but preferred to accept instead the commission of Lieutenant Colonel, Fourth Massachusetts Cavalry, December 3, 1863. This regiment was being raised in Boston and promotion to the colonelcy followed on January 22, 1864, with temporary appointment as superintendent of recruiting at Faneuil Hall. Governor Andrew's opinion of the manner in which this service was performed was thus expressed in a letter to Secretary of War Stanton: "In administrative ability I consider Colonel Rand the equal of any officer commissioned from this State."

The regiment was sent to Virginia and attached to the Army of the James, making a creditable record in the trying duties of cavalry service, frequently under fire, and making a reconnaissance into the environs of Richmond. At one time many thousand troops were under the Colonel's command at the important post of Varina Landing on the James River.

One of its officers, Major Bouvé, has thus written of the regiment and its commander:

The Fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Cavalry had been subjected to a training and discipline which caused it to develop rapidly

into one of the finest cavalry regiments in the army. The officers were nearly all veteran soldiers, educated in the hard school of war. A large proportion of the men in the ranks had seen service, and the rank and file, as a whole, proved to be such as any officer might be proud to lead.

The quality of the regiment is easily accounted for, when it is considered that its first colonel left the lasting impress of himself upon it: that colonel was Arnold A. Rand.

From the very beginning of its service in the field, the regiment had the hard fortune to be cut into detachments and details for special duty. This was probably due to the good opinion entertained of it by the general; but it was very trying and disappointing to the colonel, and to all who had hoped to be serving, as earlier orders (too soon countermanded) directed, with Sheridan.

Colonel Rand's resignation, on February 3, 1865, after more than three years of continuous service, was prompted by filial devotion. Receiving word from home of his mother's critical illness, with hope of recovery believed to depend upon some measure of relief from anxiety for her three sons at the front, he at once rode across country to the Petersburg lines. There, in the camp of the Twentieth Massachusetts Infantry, he consulted with his younger brother, Charles Arthur Rand. The young lieutenant urged that his service of but three months in the field would not justify resignation. So, with the youngest brother, Capt. Frederic Henry Rand, too far away to be reached, the eldest sacrificed his hope of rounding out his own career to the end of the war, then known to be at hand. He gained his reward by reaching home in season to verify the physician's prediction and to prove the favorable determining factor that brought complete restoration of his mother's health.

Two months later, at High Bridge, one of the decisive minor actions of the closing days, the Fourth Cavalry showed the temper of the weapon its first commander had welded. Under the gallant Colonel Washburn, who fell mortally wounded, three squadrons of the regiment attacked the advance guard of the Army of Northern Virginia and appreciably hastened the surrender at Appomattox three days afterwards.

Immediately after the War the young Colonel went to California at the request of a group of Boston friends who had acquired gold-mining interests. His fidelity to this trust and his

persistency in endeavoring to make the project a success kept him in the midst of the adventurous life of that time and region for half a dozen years. Much of the time he was at Havilah, a little mining camp within sight of Mount Whitney, the highest peak in the then United States. He visited this place forty years later, when it could be reached only by a long stage-ride. It had become picturesque in its semi-decay, only a small amount of gold-mining being carried on, but the "Rand lode," long abandoned by its original owners, was still being worked by persistent believers in the eventual overcoming of the subterranean flow that had baffled earlier operations. At the time of this visit the only inhabitants remaining who were there in Colonel Rand's time were the postmaster, with whom he exchanged reminiscences of the hangings by the Vigilance Committee on a tree still standing in the middle of the somnolent hamlet, and the widow of his former mine foreman, who conducted the unpretentious village inn.

This period of Colonel Rand's life was varied by an occasional sojourn in San Francisco and several trips East by overland stage route and by the way of the Isthmus of Panama. His narrations of incidents of these stirring times gave keen enjoyment because of their vivid interest and humorous treatment.

In 1872 Colonel Rand returned to Boston, studied at Boston University Law School, was admitted to the bar in 1874 and began the practice of law with especial relation to real estate and probate matters. He was associated with his father until the latter (with four other members of the family) was lost in the wreck of the steamer *City of Columbus* in 1884. He then took part in organizing the Massachusetts Title Insurance Company and was for ten years its Vice-President and manager. In 1895 he resumed practice as senior partner of the law firm of Rand, Vinton and Wakefield until he became connected with the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company of Boston. One of his closest associates in the Company, Vice-President Walton L. Crocker, has rendered this just tribute to the labors of the last quarter of a long and useful life:

Colonel Rand's service with the Company began with his election as a Director, December 11, 1893. He was elected Vice-President on January 10, 1898. The story of his life with us is one of important

bearing on our institution. It was he who directed our development in the region of our finances, into those wisely chosen paths which have ever since been pursued to the credit and just advantage of our Company. It was he whose practical sagacity, armed and informed by wide experience in affairs, by knowledge of men, of our country, its resources and possibilities, helped so greatly to place on a secure foundation the investments of the Company and to mould its financial methods into harmony with its expansion, while his influence in the department of the law was a broad humanizing force in the maintenance of the traditions of equity which are our heritage from our predecessors.

But it is to Colonel Rand, the man, that our thoughts are most largely attracted, for his was a personality of winning power, at once lofty and kindly, pure and yet human. He radiated character, and his presence in our midst lent to our official household the fine air of by-gone days and manners. His gentle courtesy, which was but the outward sign of the inward grace so largely his, won for him the hearts of all who came within the circle of his acquaintance. To him went young and old for the kind and fatherly counsel and assistance which it was his delight to give, and many a shadow he thus helped to lift, many a burden he shared, and many a new inspiration he gave to those who sought his aid and advice, or whose vicissitudes became known to his boundless charity. Above and through all our recollections of him is the picture of the perennial spirit of youth with its abounding enthusiasm, alertness, humor and companionableness, which remained his to the last, unimpaired, though the snows of eighty winters had whitened his head. This high spiritual quality, springing from the innermost recesses of a soul instinct with sweetness and light, became manifested to us by a daily example, serene, lofty and unaffected, of how to live a life of sunshine and good cheer. In the measure of all these things, and what they meant to us in our daily round of life, is the measure in which he will be missed from our councils and from our friendly intercourse.

Perhaps no part of Colonel Rand's later business career afforded him greater satisfaction than the long journeys undertaken in connection with his work of directing the investment of many millions of dollars. Every state of the Union was visited and the final trip was made during the last year of his life. A phase of this work that particularly gratified the chivalrous soldier was in helping in this way to rebuild the prosperity of the South; incidentally many warm friendships were made with Confederate soldiers.

Aside from his professional and business interests Colonel Rand was best known in connection with the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, having served twenty-five years as the executive officer of the Commandery of the State of Massachusetts. The tribute to his memory offered by the Commander, Henry M. Rogers, thus describes the scope of this work:

From 1881 to 1906 he was our honored Recorder. His Annual Reports during these years of service are masterpieces of comprehension, trumpet-toned in their appeal to carry forward to their full and logical expression all the principles of our great Order and its objects as embodied in its constitution. He believed that not alone the Companions of today, but those of the future, the community at large and the nation itself, were all beneficiaries of it; that it was an educator of high citizenship.

In this belief, he persistently emphasized the thought that our Commandery is not a mere dining club at which in our social gatherings alone we are to cherish the memories and associations of the Civil War, but that it had more far reaching objects, among others to foster the cultivation of military and naval science, to gather together memorabilia of the Civil War — everything that would aid Companions, historians, investigators, to understand by object lesson what the Civil War meant — and so he urged the formation of a Civil War library; the collection of paintings, engravings and photographs of scenes of the War and of those who were participants in it; of flags and trophies and relics and medals, and the thousand unconsidered trifles that throw light upon a period and that mean so much when studied and considered as a whole.

He knew that from these things fresh inspiration would come to the younger men, to seekers after truth and the understanding of our great Republic and its ideals. For years he labored. Every book, every relic and paper, photograph, medal and trophy was known to him and each one bore the stamp of his care, his discrimination, his artistic sense, his orderliness and his consummate, painstaking precision, so that everything is in its proper place marked, labelled and accessible, at a minute's demand. He strove to make it full, complete and perfect.

This monumental work of his — for it must be considered his work — is an enduring record of hours snatched from the occupations of a busy life, from his well-earned leisure, and even from his sleep. He could leave no better memorial of devoted service.

He was Commander-in-Chief of the Loyal Legion in 1912 in succession to Lieutenant General Arthur McArthur who died that year. He filled this high office with rare ability and efficiency,

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declining re-election at the end of his term of service, to the great regret of the Order.

Captain Charles Hunt also records the love and admiration felt by so many of his Army associates:

From an intimacy with Colonel Arnold A. Rand, covering a period of forty years, and only terminated by his death, I find myself a devoted admirer of the charm which surrounded such a man, in whose presence no low thought found expression, and whose natural aspirations were always of the highest, making one proud to become an associate or participant in services which he performed, and which find almost photographic expression on the tablet to his memory placed a year after his death upon the walls of the Head Quarters of the Massachusetts Commandery of the Loyal Legion in the Cadet Armory:

> The heart to conceive
> The understanding to direct
> The hand to execute.

Membership in the Grand Army of the Republic, Algonquin Club, Massachusetts Historical Society and Massachusetts Military Historical Society comprised virtually all of Colonel Rand's other affiliations.

This interesting, varied, useful life drew to its close with but a month's cessation in activity and with no abatement of mental vigor; fortunate during four score years to the end which came on December 23, 1917, at his home in Brookline.

Colonel Rand had often consented to take charge of military funerals, and with characteristically tender thought had devised appropriate and dignified mingling of ecclesiastical and military ceremonial. For himself he desired only the simple Church liturgy. Those who thronged Trinity Church on that bright clear day after Christmas, will long remember, after the boyish voices of the choristers had died away, the thrilling bugle-notes of "The Lost Chord" and of "Taps"—the soldier's "good night."

DECEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the President, and the first Vice-President, the second Vice-President, Mr. RHODES, occupied the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the gift.

From Miss Ellen A. Robbins Stone, of Lexington. Mass., of a collection of books, pamphlets, broadsides, and miscellaneous pieces from the library in the Stephen Robbins homestead there, descended to her, and used by the Robbins family who have occupied the place since 1781.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Edwin H. Brigham, a daguerreotype of the Aztec children, exhibited in Boston in 1851; and a collection of Rebellion photographs, engravings, and envelopes.

From Frank H. Shumway, a rare colored lithographic view, printed by Tappan and Bradford, of the celebration on Boston Common, October 25, 1848, of the introduction of water, by aqueduct, from Lake Cochituate, placed on stone by Samuel W. Rowse, after a drawing by Benjamin F. Smith. The printing firm was composed of Eben Tappan and Lodowick H. Bradford.

From Charles P. Greenough, a number of American and English portrait engravings.

From the Bunker Hill Monument Association, a large engraving of George Peabody by Henry Lemon after a painting by H. W. Pickersgill, published in London on September 21, 1867.

From Miss Ellen A. Robbins Stone, a photograph of the Stephen Robbins homestead, Lexington, Mass., built in 1720, and now occupied by Miss Stone.

From Harry A. Gray, checks issued and used by Western banks about 1870; and some San Francisco lottery tickets.

From James Monroe Olmstead, a piece of the core of the submarine cable between Manila and Hong Kong, which was cut by

order of Commodore Dewey after the Battle of Manila Bay, May 1, 1898.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Lawrence Shaw Mayo, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society, and of letters from Paul Frédéricq, of Ghent, Belgium, and George Lincoln Burr, of Ithaca, New York, as Corresponding Members.

The Editor reported the following accessions:

From Robert Means Lawrence, the papers of his great grandfather, Amos Lawrence (1786–1852), merchant and philanthropist, whose more intimate life is represented in his *Diary and Correspondence*, first issued by his son, William Richards Lawrence in 1855, for private distribution, but also published in the same year in an enlarged form. These papers comprise fifteen volumes of letters addressed to him, 1820–1855, five volumes of transcripts of his correspondence with Mark Hopkins, of Williams College, one volume of a journal of a visit to Spain in 1831 by William R. Lawrence; letters from father to son, 1828–1838, and some miscellaneous letters. Mr. Lawrence never held public office nor did he invite notice, but was a generous giver to charities and his example was followed by his son Amos Adams Lawrence (1814–1886).

From Charles P. Greenough a number of parchment deeds and official papers of an English origin and coming from the boxes of a solicitor charged with their preservation, before the registration system made the originals of little value. Beginning with the early part of the sixteenth century and coming well into the nineteenth this collection of one hundred and seven pieces, of all sizes and shapes, offers an unusually good opportunity for studying the changes in writing, from court hand to unofficial, the legal phraseology of land transfers, and the manner of signing, sealing and attaching stamps to such documents. Some of the names suggest American connections.

The records and papers of the Bunker Hill Monument Association have been deposited with this Society — a large quantity of books and papers which cannot but be useful in a history of that historic shaft.

By purchase: Papers of the Marquis and Comte de Langeron. Charles Etienne Louis Andrault, Comte Langeron, was born in Paris in 1763 and died in 1831 in service of Russia. At the age of nineteen he became a lieutenant in the French army and under Rochambeau served in the American campaign, returning to France with the rank of colonel (*en second*). In 1790 he emigrated and after seeking

in vain to be employed in the Austrian army, he turned to Russia and was given high command by Catherine II. He had a long but varied experience in the Russian army. Before the French Revolution he wrote some plays, a comedy, *Le Duel Supposé* being the best known. These papers, some four hundred in number, relate wholly to the French and American portions of his career. The Marquis was in charge at Brest in 1776 and later superintended the outfit of vessels on the American expedition.

Mr. Bowditch presented in behalf of Mr. Philippe Marcou further MSS. of the Belknap family (see p. 18, *supra*) comprising: three memorandum books 1757–1764, containing expenses of his education, original verses, copies from books and newspapers of what interested him, and much miscellaneous matter; four notebooks of verse, 1758–1764, some on historical incidents, like the "Reduction of Louisburg," or "On the Death of my intimate Friend, J. C[hipman], at Marblehead, April 17, 1761," Mather and Samuel Byles contributing, as did also Henry Hulton, one of the Commissioners of Customs; one notebook of lectures, 1758–1760; an oration in verse, "delivered on St. Cuffee's day, before the Right Worshipful Grand Master, Wardens and Brethren of the most ancient and honorable Lodge of *African Masons*" — a squib in favor of the negroes; and "Dialogues of the living and dead, 1774." Also a package of "new emission bills" 1780, and a set of questions and answers in "Conversation cards" — a home game. Also a receipt book, 1774–1784, of Jeremiah Belknap, Jr. (1720–1796), uncle of the historian, a dealer in sheepskins in Boston, with a shop on Cornhill and Wilson's Lane, first hired of Joshua Jackson. It is possible to give a list of the owners of this property during his occupancy: Andrew Lane, 1744–1748; Joshua Henshaw, 1748–1754; John Cotton, 1755–1758; Samuel Cotton, 1758; Mary Cotton, 1759–1761; William Fisher, 1763, and Robert Gibbs, 1764. A few miscellaneous papers complete this interesting gift.

From Harry Gregory, of Providence, R. I., two volumes of proceedings of the proprietors of the First Universal Church of Boston, 1792–1815. Although in existence from 1785 they were not incorporated until 1792. During the term covered by these ministers the church was ministered to by George Richards and John Murray.[1]

From F. W. Sprague, a letter from his father, Caleb Sprague, Captain of the ship *North Bend* of Boston, to Joseph Sprague, of Hingham, dated from the Mississippi River below New Orleans, July 5, 1847, and relating to conveyance of troops in the war with Mexico.

[1] See Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, III. 488.

From Jay Backus Woodworth, a deed to land in Scituate executed by Joseph and Sarah Woodworth, June 29, 1760.

Mr. BOWDITCH read two letters from the Belknap papers — a letter from Abraham Howard to John Belknap, Boston, June 2, 1813, describing the fight between the *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon*, and an unsigned letter describing a visit to Ferney and the meeting between Gibbon and Voltaire.

Dr. J. COLLINS WARREN made some remarks upon the picture of the introduction of water into Boston in 1848, a scene of which he was a witness. He described some features of the landscape at that time, and gave recollections of buildings on Park Street which may be seen in the picture. He also spoke of the Aztec children, whom he saw when they were exhibited here in 1851, referring to the account of these two remarkable Indian dwarfs, written by his father, Dr. J. Mason Warren, in that year.[1]

The Vice-President announced the death of our late associates, Major Henry L. Higginson, and Rev. Thomas Franklin Waters, and spoke briefly of their connection with the Society.

Mr. ELIOT spoke as follows:

Major Higginson was not a frequent attendant at the meetings of this Society, and the part that he took in its proceedings, with one exception, I think, had to do with the military history of the Civil War. In the tributes he paid here to his comrades in that War who were members of this Society, he gave some details about the part those gentlemen had taken in the War, and incidentally painted some pictures of the War itself.

I do not suppose that Major Higginson had to a high degree the historical or biographical tendency. Nothing in his life would intimate that he thought much about the past history of the country or about the records of leading families in this vicinity. He was proud of his own ancestry; but when we examine his family records we find that the distinction of the family was that they presented generation after generation fine types of the New England Congregational ministry. Of course, those ministers were all educated at Harvard College; but we do not find that the higher education was universal in

[1] Taken from the *American Journal of Medical Sciences*, with colored engravings of the dwarfs.

the Higginson family in its successive generations. Major Higginson's father, for instance, was not educated in Harvard College, and, as we all remember, Major Higginson himself had an education of an unusual sort for a Boston boy. He went to the Boston Latin School; but he did not go to Harvard College except for a short residence; and he never received any degree from Harvard until an honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred on him when he was forty-eight years of age.

He had not settled into any occupation for life when the Civil War broke out in April, 1861. He at once offered his services, and received a commission in the 2d Massachusetts Regiment. His experience in the Civil War was intense but brief. He was so severely wounded in 1863 that he had to resign from the army, after two efforts to return to the service in spite of his wounds. It was at a very dismal, anxious period of the Civil War that he was obliged to give up the military service, deeply regretting his inability to continue his career as a soldier. He therefore shared the fate of most of the officers of the Civil War — and of the privates too, indeed — in that they fought, and many died, without the least vision of what the War was to bring forth. Those who died on the field of battle died without any shout of victory in their ears, or any knowledge of the rewarding issue.

When Higginson found himself obliged to abandon service in the army he searched for an employment in which a somewhat disabled man might make himself useful. This period was made happy by his felicitous marriage, an event which had a deep influence on his future career, not only because of the rare qualities of his wife, but also because it brought him into intimate relations with his brother-in-law, Alexander Agassiz.

It was not until several years after the close of the War that Higginson settled into what was to become his permanent occupation as a banker and broker first in Boston and later also in New York and London. Almost immediately, however, he began to study and prepare for what was to be the most interesting and useful work of his life. The great contribution he made to the life of this community was at that time unexampled. No one man had done such a thing before. I find no other instance of the precise undertaking which occupied

the greater part of Higginson's time and thought for the rest of his life.

A great many Americans have endowed education, endowed charitable societies and learned societies; but what other American has undertaken to create, all by himself, an institution which should contribute to the intelligent enjoyment of orchestral music by his fellow countrymen? We have some recent instances of rich Americans who have founded picture galleries, who have taken great pleasure all their lives in accumulating objects of art, valuable in money but more precious still as examples of beauty, and have left them by will to the public. We have had in our own community examples of well-to-do men who as men of leisure enjoyed collecting, and collected wisely, and have later given their collections to the public; but what other American of wealth has taken it upon himself to organize an orchestra — to select, pay, and in every way support an orchestra for many years with the object of creating among his fellow countrymen love of music of the highest types?

This was not only the work of the largest part of Higginson's life; it was also his delight. He had many losses and struggles during this undertaking, but it was to him always a source of keenest satisfaction. We are all glad that he enjoyed those satisfactions. In the last two or three years, years of the War, he had serious disappointments and trials regarding his Orchestra; but we are glad that he lived to see its reconstruction on a firm foundation, and to know that the friends who undertook to carry on his work had been successful, and that the future of the institution was well-nigh assured. It remains, of course, for this community to put it on a permanent footing with an ample endowment.

How great a service Higginson's was in developing the love of music in this community and nourishing that love, one can hardly imagine who does not remember the condition of this Puritan community with regard to music and the love of music. It was my father, in connection with George Webb and Lowell Mason, who first succeeded in getting music taught in the public schools of Boston. The subject had not been taught at all in any American schools. It is not taught well now. The Puritan objection to the organ was another cause of the rarity

of men and women who loved music, or who knew about music.

The selection of music as the art which Higginson desired to cultivate in his own community was a novel one, but one that is going to bring forth precious fruits in long generations.

Those of us who knew Major Higginson for many years recall with great delight his personal qualities in familiar intercourse. His was not a typical Boston temper and quality in respect to daily intercourse with friends and associates. He was more impetuous than most Bostonians of the cultivated sort. His language was often more vivid than the cultivated Bostonian uses. His impetuosity manifested itself in friendliest expressions to people he liked; it sometimes manifested itself also in hasty and rough expressions to persons he did not like. This impetuosity with the accompanying vividness of language was one of the qualities which endeared him to both friends and foes.

He had a keenness of wit also which flashed out in his conversation now and then, and was always highly characteristic and very delightful. Then, his experience of life gave him another quality which was truly remarkable, a great tenderness, particularly towards a friend who had met with some disappointment or some distress, and towards strangers whose need was brought to Higginson by a friend. I had somewhat frequent occasions to perceive in him this tenderness, accompanied by a spontaneous and sometimes rash generosity.

He liked particularly to come to the aid of a man, or better still a woman, who had known better times, and without fault of his own or her own had fallen into straitened circumstances of some sort, perhaps through sickness, perhaps through the death of parents, perhaps through some adverse circumstances which other human beings had neglected to ward off, or had made worse by roughness or cruelty. I have in mind at this moment several instances of that sort where Higginson not only came at once to the relief of the distressed person with a gift of money, but undertook to continue that gift year after year so long as the person lived. I have also known him to enlist other people in such a cause, so that he would get together an adequate support for the disabled person. And then in later years when some of those whom he had enlisted in such a cause

forgot it, or ceased to send the expected contributions, he would go after those persons, and procure the renewal of their gifts, at much sacrifice to himself and not liking to go; but he never failed.

I have in mind one case of that sort where he followed the object of charity for twenty years, when he might reasonably have expected to be relieved of the charge within five or ten years, such was the age of the recipient of his gift. He never said anything about these occasions and always took pains that his name should not be known, even to the recipient. Nobody ever will know about those things; but some of us who did know about them will always feel towards Higginson a peculiar respect and admiration.

His gifts to the public were made during his life, including, of course, the generous support of the Orchestra. That I find to be a lesson which rich men in America may well learn. It is, on the whole, wiser and happier for a rich man to make his gifts during his life than after his death. It argues more sacrifice and personal care on his own part, but is much surer to accomplish the public object to which he wishes to devote his private property, or a proper part of it.

I was talking with a French gentleman two days ago who had been reading the will of the late Mr. Frick. He had not words to express his admiration for that will, because of the disinterestedness of the donor in his selection of objects, and also his wisdom in selecting objects of a permanent character, so far as human means can insure perpetuity of benefactions. In one respect he had not observed the meritorious quality of that will. He had not observed that Mr. Frick provides for the immediate working of his gifts to the public, the immediate fruition of his beneficence.

Our friend Higginson did better still. He secured the beneficent objects he had in view by seeing them accomplished during his life, and he did that on purpose, or by design, not by accident. This consecration of private wealth to public uses is one of the most admirable qualities exhibited by American citizens. It is almost unexampled in the world; it has hardly been seen elsewhere, never so frequently, and on so large a scale. The world has seen priests and cardinals devote their property to the founding of monasteries and churches. We have known of

great princes and nobles endowing universities; but this rather common quality of the American rich man who devotes private property to public uses either before or after his death, is a phenomenon peculiar to our country. It may be said, I think, to be a consequence or outcome of American democracy. Is there any more promising assurance for the future welfare of the people of the United States?

Mr. WENDELL read a letter of Major Higginson on his entrance into the business world at the end of the Civil War.

Mr. PLIMPTON read a paper on

THE FIRST AMERICAN GEOGRAPHY.

Before going into the details of and describing the first geography printed in America, let us have a few words about the author and incidents connected with his life.

Jedidiah Morse was born in Woodstock, Connecticut, August 23, 1761, and he died in New Haven on June 9, 1826. He prepared for Yale College in one year at Woodstock Academy and entered Yale College in 1779. His physical constitution was inadequate for the work on the farm and he had a strong desire for an education. He was drafted for the Continental army but his father secured from Governor Trumbull his redemption on the ground of his ill health. He paid his way largely through college by teaching.

During college he read and studied Chesterfield's letters to his son, and such was his estimate of these letters that subsequently, after many years, he published an edition of them under the name of Chesterfield's *Letters on Politeness*.

On the first Sabbath in March, 1781, while twenty years old, he was admitted to the College church and soon after decided to devote himself to the ministry. On his graduation in 1783 he met the venerable Doctor Bellamy, far advanced in years, who, on learning that he was going into the ministry, gave him his blessing and added: "Now let me tell you how it will fare with you. After you have preached as a candidate, received a call, and been settled over a parish, at first your people will dote on you. They will say to you, 'Poor Pussy,' 'Poor Pussy.' Soon after their fervor will cool and then it will be 'Puss,' 'Puss,' and at last it will be 'Scat you.'"

It was while teaching in 1783 and 1784 in a girls' school that he realized the lamentable deficiency in the textbooks in geography, especially relating to the United States, the principal book being Guthrie's *Grammar of Geography*, published in England, a copy of which is exhibited here. To supply this want he gathered material from all sources and as a result issued in 1784, *Geography Made Easy. Being a short but comprehensive system of that very useful and agreeable science*, published by Meigs, Bowen and Dana in Chapel Street, New Haven.

He studied theology under Jonathan Edwards and was licensed to preach in 1785. He was tutor at Yale during the year 1786, but on account of ill health went to Georgia, where he gathered a good deal of material for his geographies, and during this journey he met Benjamin Franklin, George Washington at Mt. Vernon, Doctor Ramsay, of Charleston, and Doctor Witherspoon.

He became pastor of the Charlestown First Congregational Church on April 30, 1789, the same day and hour that Washington was inaugurated President of the United States. His salary as pastor of the church was eleven dollars per week, cord-wood sufficient for his study until married and then with dwelling house and barn and twenty cords of wood annually. On account of the hard times in Charlestown, as a result of the Bunker Hill fight, he took only ten dollars per week.

He received when thirty-four years of age a degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Edinburgh.

On March 12, 1789, he published *The American Geography. A View of the present situation in the United States of America*, dedicated to William Livingston, Governor of New Jersey. This was printed at Elizabethtown. He also wrote at this period — 1789 — *The American Universal Geography*. In his preface to these books he said:

> Before the Revolution Americans seldom pretended to write or think for themselves. We humbly received from Great Britain our laws, our manners, our books, and our mode of thinking, and our youth was educated as subjects of the British King rather than as citizens of a free and independent Republic. It is not easy at once to break off old habits of either thinking or acting. Accustomed as we have been to appreciate British literature and manufactures, it has been natural in comparison to undervalue our own.

It has been for the interest of Great Britain and British subjects who have emigrated and settled among us to cherish these sentiments, and hence our own production of books as well as articles have been discouraged and those of Great Britain promoted.

He sent a copy of these books to George Washington and Washington writes him on July 17, 1793.

Reverend Sir:

I should have at an earlier moment acknowledged the receipt of your polite letter of the twenty-fifth of June and returned my best thanks for the acceptable work which accompanied it, but I had not been at Mt. Vernon when it reached this place. You will therefore be pleased now, sir, to accept the thanks and acknowledgment which are due your polite attention in sending me a set of the Universal Geography. At the same time be assured that you have my best wishes that you may amply be rewarded for the time and labor spent in preparing so valuable a work. With due consideration, I am, Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

These identical books are in the Athenaeum Library with Washington's autograph.

In 1797 he first tested the copyright law of 1789, when an English bookseller sold an English edition of his *American Gazeteer*, 600 pages of it being identical. Alexander Hamilton was his attorney and won his case — the first copyright case.

In 1805 he was one of the Overseers of Harvard College and resigned when a Unitarian was elected to the Hollis Professorship of Theology, and after that he was a strong upholder of orthodoxy.

His controversy with Hannah Adams, who claimed that his *History of New England* was copied more or less from hers, went on for several years until finally his friends showed that she had copied largely from the history of Ramsay. So said his son.

Up to 1794, 20,000 of his geographies had been sold.

He resigned his pastorate at Charlestown in 1820 and for the following two years was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs by President Monroe.

He was a most voluminous writer on many subjects. Daniel Webster spoke of him as "always thinking, always writing, always talking, always acting."

He was elected a member of this Society on January 17, 1796, and remained a member until 1820, when he removed to New Haven. Previous to his election he presented to the Society in 1792 the *Life of Thomas Paine*, in 1793, newspapers, maps of New York with township, and after his election in 1798 about 15 books including his own geographies.

So much for the history of the man who wrote the first geography published in America.

Mr. Plimpton then read a number of amusing extracts from Morse's *Geography*.

LETTERS OF AMOS ADAMS LAWRENCE.

Abbott Lawrence was elected a representative from Massachusetts to the Twenty-fourth (December, 1835, to March, 1837) and to the Twenty-sixth (December, 1839, to March, 1841) Congresses, but resigned on account of ill health in 1840, giving place to Robert C. Winthrop. He represented the Boston district, strong in wealth and respectability, and his terms of service covered parts of the administrations of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren. With the former his relations could hardly have extended outside of official courtesies, for Mr. Lawrence was a Whig and a good party man; with Van Buren, more of a man of the world, all could have social intercourse approaching to warm friendship, though his political career and inheritance might not commend him to one of another party. So little is known of Mr. Lawrence's service in the House of Representatives that the following letters, written by his nephew, then in his twenty-first year of age, during a visit to Washington, are of value. They express the impressions made upon the writer by the public men he met or heard, and indicate the position and influence of the member of Congress from Massachusetts. Unfortunately the visit was a short one and the letters are few in number; but Bishop Lawrence, in his *Life of Amos A. Lawrence* (p. 18), gives extracts from an account of a visit to Washington made in the spring vacation of 1834, before the uncle was in Congress, in which the petitions on slavery, the President, and the place are

touched upon with a free hand. The letters now printed are in the papers of Amos Lawrence, father of the writer.

WASHINGTON, January 7, 1835 [1836.]

DEAR FATHER, — I received your letter this morning. There has been a severe debate today in the Senate on the reception of petitions, which you read reported in the papers. I had never before heard Mr. Porter of Louisiana.[1] He is a very rapid and animated and his manner not bad. The South Carolina gentlemen [2] seemed determined to have their point carried without adjournment, but not so Mr. Buchanan and some other members.

All the Senators are willing to refer these petitions for Abolition of Slavery in this district and they will never be heard of afterwards; it seems ultra to require them to refuse to receive them at all. The debate is postponed till Monday and then probably the main question as to the *power* of Congress to legislate will be taken up. The Vice-President [3] was not in his chair, though he was in the Hall the whole forenoon. Mr. Clay was not present.

I sent you my phrenological character the other day, which I mention because I do not recollect that my name was upon it. The man Fowler [4] is a lion in his department, and all the members and even the ladies have submitted their crania to his inquisition. You would laugh to read Mr. Palfrey's,[5] which Mr. Granger [6] has just been reading at table. I cannot write while others are talking so I will delay till tomorrow. Your affectionate son,

A. A. LAWRENCE.

WASHINGTON, January 8, 1836.

DEAR FATHER, — I mentioned the debate of yesterday. Of all the speakers I think Mr. Benton and Buchanan gained themselves most credit, if we consider their arguments, though Calhoun and Preston were more striking orators. The subject hardly admits much argument; it is rather a matter of judgment, though regard is always had to precedents. Mr. Benton produced a precedent, but seemed in no way desirous of pushing the thing too hard. He was very willing to postpone it as Mr. Buchanan suggested till Monday,

[1] Alexander Porter (1786–1844), born in Ireland and a judge in Louisiana. His speech on this day is in *Debates in Congress*, XII. 74.

[2] John C. Calhoun and William C. Preston.

[3] Martin Van Buren.

[4] Orson Squire Fowler (1809–1887), or his brother Lorenzo Niles Fowler (1811–) who had in partnership opened an office in New York city in 1835.

[5] John Gorham Palfrey, not a member of Congress until 1847.

[6] Francis Granger (1792–1868), representative in Congress from the Canandaigua (N. Y.) district.

to give Senators time to concert measures which would hinder the presentation of these petitions in future. Benton's manners on the floor while speaking, and at other times, are those of a gentleman; he never reads without applying a double glass to his eye in a very genteel way. I can hardly imagine him in a great passion, though if he were, it would be tremendous, he has so strong a voice. His age appears to be fifty.

He said what was true, "That the indignation manifested at the North during the last summer was a plain declaration of the people that they were as hostile to these doctrines as any reasonable Southerner could wish. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Buchanan), the representative of the great Quaker State, had declared his abhorrence of them and his firm conviction that the Government had no right to legislate on this subject, not even in this district — could the South ask any more?" He produced a rough cut on a large sheet, which he had received through the Post Office, which as he held it up to be looked at excited apparently great passion in Mr. Calhoun: he sat directly before him and I thought he and Preston too would have snatched it away. It represented the Tree of Liberty, under whose shade the whole world was gathered pursuing the occupations which characterise different classes of society, but so to the disadvantage of the slave that it would excite the worst feeling wherever circulated.[1] "He had no doubt that the Senators of the North were as indignant as the South at such black proceedings, and for one he was willing to plan measures for putting a stop to them, but he wished order and not disorder in the Senate." Mr. Morris of Ohio[2] introduced these petitions and advocated "the power of legislating on all subjects in the District, which state legis-

[1] "He (Mr. Benton) had had many pictures of this kind, as well as many diabolical publications, sent to him on this subject, during the last summer, the whole of which he had cast into the fire, and should not have thought of referring to the circumstance at this time, as displaying the character of the incendiary part of the abolitionists, had he not within those few days past, and while abolition petitions were pouring into the other end of the capitol, received one of these pictures, the design of which could be nothing but mischief of the blackest dye. It was a print from an engraving (and Mr. B. exhibited it, and handed it to Senators near him) representing a large and spreading tree of liberty, beneath whose ample shade a slave owner was at one time luxuriously reposing, with slaves fanning him; at another carried forth in a palanquin, to view the half-naked laborers in the cotton field, whom drivers, with whips, were scourging to the task. The print was evidently from the abolition mint, and came to him by some other conveyance than that of the mail, for there was no postmark, or mark of any kind, to identify its origin and to indicate its line of March. For what purpose could such a picture be intended, unless to inflame the passions of slaves?" *Debates in Congress*, XII. 85.

[2] Thomas Morris (1776–1844).

latures can act upon in regard to the states, and the petitions could not be thrown out without being laid on the table," and this brought on the debate. The question was on sending them to the committee of the District, where they never would be heard from again; or, refusing to consider them at all.

After Mr. Calhoun's second speech Mr. Webster rose and the effect was wonderful. His eloquence is appreciated because he seldom nowadays makes an exhibition of it. The members of the other House were crowded around the President's chair and the Senators' seats, and the galleries were full. But when Mr. Webster stood up, all was as still as though the hall was empty. He merely made a motion to adjourn till Monday, which had been made before by Mr. Buchanan.[1] He did this to give all time to confer, and to prepare for the main question, "whether Congress can legislate on the subject of slavery here." Considering that Maryland and Virginia assented to the Constitution on condition that there should be no liberation of slaves in their neighbourhood, it seems to be a breach of faith to liberate them. The effect would be as disastrous as though it took place in these states, for this would be a central place for all runaways and abolitionists, and such a gang in the heart of slaveholding states could be as mischievous as the worst abolitionist can desire. But if Congress deny all power of legislation, there may come a time when it may create another difficulty. For supposing, what is undoubtedly true, that Maryland and Virginia are gradually becoming free states, when they shall be wholly free from slaves, this District must follow, and then if it petition to be free, this decision might bring the Government into trouble.

Mr. Calhoun said he hoped the Senate would not adjourn till it had given the South some testimony of its detestation of these petitions, something that would soothe the anger of the slaveholders against the whole North: they required pacification and must have it. He had received a letter, and he had heard from Arthur Tappan and others that there had been an increase of Abolition societies since last summer, that then there were 240, and now there are 340.[2] He was not surprised the Senator from Massachusetts was anxious to avoid discussion, he feared he was unwilling to discuss a subject on which he entertained different sentiments from his constituents. The reception of a book written by a learned divine indicated a state

[1] Only nine lines in the *Debates* are given to Webster on this occasion (XII. 95).

[2] It was a printed protest, signed by Arthur Tappan and others, remonstrating against the language used in the President's message "against the fanatics, in which it was stated, boastingly, that, so far from being repressed by the proceedings against them in the North during the last summers the number of their societies," etc. *Debates*, XII. 96.

of feeling in the North which the gentleman must regret. He (Mr. Calhoun) had not seen it, but he understood its falsehoods were exceedingly admired.[1] When the most elegant writer in this country had written in such a strain, and other learned gentlemen entertained the same views, he did not believe that less well-informed people should think differently: the existence of this immense number of societies denied the fact." Mr. Preston is an elegant speaker, but he seldom falls into deep argument.

Old Matthew L. Davis,[2] "the Spy in Washington," is just saying to Uncle Abbot about the Bill for the relief of the N[ew] York sufferers: "Mr. Whittlesey,[3] Sir, is opposed to it decidedly; he has just told me so confidentially and the bill is knocked on the head unless you do something."[4]

"Mr. Davis, I am very much obliged to you. I will go and talk with Whittlesey, but I cannot hope to convince him and I agree with you, at least I fear it is 'knocked on the head.'"

We will see how it turns out. Nobody expects the three separate propositions they make will be complied with, but by asking for a good deal they expect *something*. They have delayed too long, the delegates are not here yet; if they get anything they may thank the "gentleman from Massachusetts" as much as anybody. All parties consult him; you can hardly imagine the confidence that is reposed in him. He knows all that is going on at the White House before *the* party themselves, and now he can tell Mr. Chamberley and Matthew L. Davis things they must wait to hear. I did not suppose his influence would be so great, but that in the crowd of great men here he would be in a measure lost, at any rate for some time.

But his power in finishing business has already placed him high, and his personal character makes him friends on every side, every day. With our delegation I am sure he is held in great estimation and at this time when there are so many interests clashing, and each

[1] "He had not seen Dr. Channing's book [*Slavery*, 1836], but that a divine of his eminence, and one of the most eloquent and polished writers of the country, should publish such a book at this time, was a matter for serious reflection to those he represented, as well as all who had similar interests. If he might judge of the whole from some of its extracts, it might be well compared with the incendiary publications of Garrison himself. It is a sad omen at the times, that he should lend the aid of his talents and character to criminal designs, the direct tendency of which is to work asunder the union and subvert the constitution." *Debates*, XII. 96.

[2] Matthew Livingston Davis, the friend and literary executor of Aaron Burr.

[3] Elisha Whittlesey (1783–1863) of Connecticut.

[4] From sufferers by the great fire in New York. The details of the petition cannot be found, but they concerned postponing the collection of customs duties and a measure of relief was passed. See *Debates in Congress*, XII. 2195.

is looking for his own candidate — *beyond* Mr. Webster, it requires infinite resource to make all hang together, and I think that before this there would have been a scattering unless he had held them together. They all come in here often to talk. Mr. Van Buren of course is very attentive to so hopeful an ally; perhaps Mr. Granger's intimacy here makes him fear for his game, but without reason; for though Mr. Granger might make a very good Vice President, not all our Northern gentlemen would agree to Mr. *Harrison* for as good a *President.* Besides, they never discuss this question, and Mr. Granger dislikes being reminded of his acting second to Mr. Harrison's first. Said he the other day: "I had rather have given five thousand dollars than had my name on that ticket and I told Mr. ——— (I forget who) he might withdraw it." But being ambitious, he is willing to run the risk of non-election and on Harrison ticket rather than not stand at all.

Mr. Webster looks very gloomy since the Harrisburgh convention, and hesitates about doing what the Massachusetts delegation wait for. When he does withdraw I think there will be some commotion among them.

Mr. Van Buren is in high feather; he looks well and feels well. He seldom keeps his seat, but is everywhere in the hall, talking with everybody. He gives large dinner parties every week.

The Administration are alarmed about our French affairs. Something came by the last Packet which has thrown things into a new position. Uncle Abbott knows some circumstances he may tell you if he chooses, I cannot: at any rate you will have it soon: no one yet knows it here. The probability is that an express has been sent to our fleet in the Mediterranean to come home immediately, and in order to enable the fleet to get under way before the French Government can receive the special message from the President to Congress, this message is withheld for a few days.[1] The probability too is that there is a division in the Cabinet on the subject, they are alarmed at the state into which they have brought themselves by their high tone heretofore.

This now is the great question with them and they have attended to it to the exclusion of all other business. Until within three days, all the heads of departments and the President himself have affirmed that the whole affair would be settled. Now no such promise is held out, and there seems to be little doubt that we shall have *trouble soon.* Please not mention this, because it will be suspected to come from Uncle Abbott, and he dislikes all responsibility on the subject. At this moment he is giving the history as far as he knows it to Gov. Lincoln. Besides the danger to our fleet from a

[1] The message is dated January 15, 1836.

special message, the Government fears the effect of the last message, that the fleet will be seized on the receipt of that. But in this they are too timid; gentlemen here say there is no danger *immediately*.

A great many people come in here to talk. Since I have been writing here, there have been near fifteen, which is rather large. The average may be twelve in an hour. Lord Selkirk [1] is thumping my back and asking who I am writing to at such a rate, and advises a respite. Here comes Mr. McKim of Baltimore.[2] He is an old man, very rich and a great admirer of Gen. Jackson. He admires Uncle Abbott too, and as his proximity to him is greater than Gen. Jackson's, Mr. McKim is glad to be his humble servant as far as asking his advice. He does nothing without consulting him. He has brought in some petitions, which belong to the Committee of Ways and Means. They are reading them aloud, and Uncle A. like a parson has the first saying and Mr. McK. like the clerk responds. Earl Selkirk is a very honest, unassuming fellow, good humoured and knows a great deal. He was educated in England and has been four years in the House of Lords: his seat is not hereditary, but his own talent and rank have placed him in it. He is no blusterer and not elegant in his manners, but he talks remarkably well and comes in here very often at all times of the day, wishes nobody good day and goes away in the same manner, hat on or off as it happens. He says har-r? to a question, and does not stop to talk when he is eating.

Here comes the "Spy" again, he has been on the scent after the French news, but whether he has found it or not I cannot say, for he has gone out at the sight of Mr. McKim. Here comes Mr. Granger, full of his fun. There is another knock, and in enters Capt. Cook of S[outh] Boston with a long cue, an old-fashioned shipbuilder. He has come to bid good-bye. He has done this and Mr. Granger gone after him. Mr. McKim is against a stump, he objects to a decision, and Uncle A. is smoothing it to suit his mind, or rather arguing it with him: he will get him along again in a minute.

With love to all, I remain Your affectionate son,

AMOS A. LAWRENCE.

P. S. I find I have written beyond my reckoning. This has arisen from laying the sheets in a drawer out of sight.

WASHINGTON, January 10, 1836.

DEAR FATHER, — We have received nothing this morning from Boston and only one letter from N[ew] York. The mails come very

[1] Dunbar James Douglas, Earl of Selkirk.

[2] Probably Alexander McKim, who was interested in the cotton manufacture.

irregularly, owing to bad roads, the disarrangement of the N[ew] York P[ost] Office, and perhaps to neglect on the part of contractors or the head of the department.

Mr. Kendall's nomination is now before the Senate and he will *probably* be rejected: so some of the gentlemen of that body say, and Mr. Taney will follow in the same way.[1] The opposition Senators are inclined to stand pretty firmly in these times on their rights, for the unhappy state of the Cabinet cannot but influence them in their decisions, besides their personal feelings.

The opinion of those who know best is that the Cabinet are wholly unfit for the present occasion, and there is no doubt they are in great doubt and distress. As to Mr. Cass,[2] I should suppose from what Capt. Turnbull said yesterday that he is unpopular with the officers of the Army and unskilled in management. The President himself the other day compared him to "an old woman." The President is out of humour with the whole concern that they will not second him in his designs against France — in fact they can hardly keep him within the bounds of official dignity. Com. Morris[3] and Gen. Scott both agree in saying that the country is in a miserable state for defence, that there are no materials for arming the forts in this vicinity. The appropriation bills will be introduced probably very soon, and before granting any extras Congress must be acquainted with the necessity; and an explanation of the state of affairs will certainly be demanded.

Here I must close and go to church. From your affectionate son,

A. A. Lawrence.

Washington, January 15, 1835 [1836].

Dear Father, — I have just read yours of the 10th, with great pleasure. One from William[4] came yesterday. Uncle Abbott pulls from his pockets near a dozen letters chiefly on business every day, and the answering these consumes so much time that you cannot wonder he writes less frequently home than at first: this he would prefer doing, but really he is very much pressed to get through with regular business. His character as a business man is so well known that every thing is sent to him in preference to any of the other gentlemen here. Mr. Webster says he has lost all his *constituent*

[1] To be Postmaster General. The nomination was sent to the Senate December 28, 1835, but was not confirmed until March 15, 1836 — 25 to 7. Taney was nominated and confirmed on the same dates — 29 to 15.

[2] Cass became Secretary of War August 1, 1831, and retired in October, 1836.

[3] Charles Morris (1784–1856), commissioner of the navy.

[4] William Richards Lawrence, half-brother of Amos A. Lawrence.

employment of a certain sort this session and is perfectly at ease, and so with some others of our delegation. Nothing but the honour and influence consequent on office could induce one in good *circumstances* to undertake the duties of a representative of our thriving, *claiming* and particular community, but this object I think as good and honourable as any other for which most of us labour; it is not so honourable an ambition as the cultivation of the mind and heart, but besides this I can think of no other.

The debates in the House today were of little interest[1] and the Senate was not in session, so I rode on horseback to Georgetown heights and then to the College.[2] The view of the river, city and the hills around, from the Heights is very pretty even at this season, though the bare, red soil gives it an appearance of barrenness.

The roads through the hills in the vicinity have been made at a great expense and never can be very much improved except by Mac-Adamizing or paving, which cannot be expected in a district so poor; but without it they will be next to useless at certain seasons; and on this account the encouragement to railroad building is very great. I think we need them less by far in the North and yet we manage them better in regard to their value to proprietors. The Baltimore and Washington road for instance is a perpetual draft on its owners; they have little hope of ever realizing anything from it, and may be obliged to relinquish their steam power. They cannot manage as well as we can and never will. We must excel in wealth and in consequence in learning and refinement the South: this we say we do now, but they will not acknowledge it. In a few years the diversity will be too great to allow a doubt of our superiority. Their climate is as unfavorable to industry as ours is impelling to it, and their indolence more than outweighs the disadvantages we labour under in being forced to provide for an unproductive and consuming winter. The decayed state of Alexandria and Georgetown and the unthrifty population here in Washington is an unfair test, but the great number of insolent free negroes is a common evil in almost all the larger towns. Mr. Palfrey writes from Richmond after a very severe ride of two days: the roads he describes as the worst he ever traversed. He will find them worse as he proceeds and will suffer a good deal, though his acquaintance and letters will not admit his going long distance without a friend in case of need. Jos. Patterson is here. I might have written you a longer letter, had not Mr.

[1] West Point Academy and banks in the District of Columbia were the two subjects before the House.

[2] Columbian College, incorporated in 1821. It was located north of the city, about a mile and a half from the President's House on boundary and Fourteenth Street. A description will be found in Elliot's *Washington Guide* (1837), 127.

Hasler,[1] Gov. Cass and Gen. Ward come in, the two first well worth hearkening to: so I am just in time for the closing of mail.

From your affectionate son,

AMOS. A. LAWRENCE.

Mr. WETMORE has given to the Society the following letter:

WASHINGTON HUNT TO GEORGE DAWSON[2]

WASHINGTON, January 26, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, — I was compelled to leave my seat about three weeks ago to attend to some private affairs in Lockport. I went there chiefly to aid my friends who were in some trouble with the Bank. The concern is perfectly sound, though it has suffered some misfortunes. It will move on I think without further trouble. The stock-holders are a clever set of fellows (as you might know from my being one) and I felt anxious to help them out of trouble. Some of them felt sore at what they considered a disparaging allusion in your paper, but I told them to think nothing of it, as it no doubt proceeded from a natural misapprehension of the real state of affairs. The Cashier could show you that the Bank is "more sinned against than sinning," and that it has some $200,000 sound securities beyond its liabilities.

On returning here I find my table loaded with letters, and amongst them yours of the 31 ulto. and 18th inst. Very few documents have been printed as yet at this session, but it will give me pleasure to supply you as fast as they appear. I am sure your Representative has not neglected you in this regard from any feeling of malice. He seems moody and abstracted, under the weight of national affairs in this great emergency.

I concur with you entirely respecting the fatal tendency of Native Americanism. I consider it sure death to touch it. We must avoid all contact or appearance of contact with it. On coming here I found some of our friends seriously infected with this distemper. I have taken much pains to cure them of the malady, and I rejoice to say the most of them are returning to a state of health and sanity. Archer[3] and a few old ladies of the same stamp are past praying for, and we can expect nothing but mischief from

[1] Ferdinand Rudolph Hassler (1770–1843), superintendent of the Coast Survey.

[2] (1813–1883), Editor of the Rochester *Democrat*. In 1846 he became associate editor of the Albany *Evening Journal* and editor and proprietor on the retirement of Thurlow Weed in 1862.

[3] William S. Archer (1789–1855), United States Senator from Virginia.

them till they detach themselves entirely from the whig ranks, and enroll amongst the natives *eo nomine*.

You will see that the House yesterday passed the Joint Resolution admitting Texas into the Union. Nine of the southern whigs joined the annexationists, and the northern demagogues and doughfaces gave them an easy triumph.[1] All the influences of the Executive, present and prospective, were brought to bear with resistless effect. I yet indulge some faint hopes that the Senate may save the country till the 4th of March, but the annexationists claim a majority, with great confidence, and in view of what has transpired I advise you to prepare your mind for the worst. I cannot express to you the sentiments of grief and indignation with which my mind is filled by this momentous act in the great drama of American History. It adds four slave states to the Union, and in a few days Florida will swell the triumph of southern power. It establishes southern supremacy so long as the Union shall stand. In all matters touching slavery the south moves in solid phalanx, and the north, by its own divisions, will always fall an easy prey. Whilst I write the representatives of the south are exulting over us, as if they had vanquished a foreign enemy. Are we to submit? Will not the boldness and insolence of Southern domination kindle a spark of manly rage and independence in the breasts of the northern people, or has the glorious spirit of the Revolution gone out and departed forever? But I must not pursue the train of painful reflections which crowd upon me. I have never suffered myself to "despair of the Republic," but I will say to you in all sincerity if nothing can be done to arrest the progress of events, if this government must be made an instrument to extend and strengthen slavery, the Union is no longer worth preserving.

The most insulting part of the affair is the guarantee that slavery shall not exist in that part of Texas lying north of 36° 30′. As if the people of the free states were fools and children. Of the country known and understood as Texas, not one inch extends north of that line. In order to pass it you must first invade Mexico, take in the Spanish settlements of Santa Fé etc. and then you take nothing north of this compromise line except a protuberance of the mountains upon which God established freedom by making it inaccessible to human habitation. Do not fail to present this part of the case in its true light, to the people.

I write in much haste which I beg you will excuse, and believe me, Very sincerely yours,

W. Hunt.[2]

[1] The vote stood 120 to 98.

[2] 1818–1867.

Mr. Ford called attention to some lines in one of the note books in the Belknap gift (page 39, *supra*) taken from the *Boston Gazette* of April 13, 1730, of which issue no copy is known to exist.

To Mr. B——— [1] occasioned by his verses to Mr. Smibert on seeing his Pictures.

Unhappy Bard! spring in such Gothic Times
As yield no friendly muse, t'extol your Rhymes.
Hard is the Task you singly undergo
To praise the Painter and the Poet too.
But much I fear you raise a short-livd Fame
Which lives but on the Pen from whence it came.
Boast on, and take what fleeting Life can give.
For when you cease to write, you cease to live.
If you to future ages would be known,
Make this Advice I freely give your own.
Go to the Painter — for your picture sit
His art will long survive the Poet's Wit.

From William Knox [2]

7th January, 1781.

My dear Sir, — I cannot recollect the date of Lord Rawdon's letter to Gen'l Leslie which mentions Lord Cornwallis having been ill, but it is later than any direct account we have from Charles Town, it says however his Lordship was not *sufficiently recover'd* to write, which implies no circumstance of danger for the disease of that climate and season is of all others the most debilitating and dispiriting tho' not fatal if at all attended to. I know it well having had it eight times in six years. When the frosty nights come everybody gets well within land that has Bark to take. The sea air or a voyage does as well for those who can use it. Capt. St. George's [3] promotion arise out of his staff appointment of Deputy Adjutant General I think it is, which taking him out of the line does not give to the same discontent as when an officer is made to command those tomorrow who commanded him today. This I know was the reason of Lord Amherst's yielding to Sir Henry Clinton's recommendation

[1] Byles?

[2] (1732–1810), under Secretary of State for America.

[3] Richard St. George, commissioned Deputy Adjutant General, December 1, 1780.

in favour of Capt. St. George. Why he has refused Capt. Broderick,[1] I know not, but perhaps you may find a reason in what I have said was the occasion of the other's success. I am dear sir most truly Your faithful Servant,

WILL: KNOX.

Remarks were made by Mr. AGASSIZ.

[1] Hon. Henry Broderick, aid to Lord Cornwallis.

Thos. Franklin Waters

MEMOIR

OF

THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS

By ROBERT S. RANTOUL.

The sudden death of Thomas Franklin Waters, at the ripe age of sixty-eight, deprives this Society of one of its tireless delvers in the local history and antiquities of his section, whose services had come to be greatly appreciated, and whose loss will be deeply felt. A Harvard graduate of 1872, later well rooted in the ancient community of Ipswich, one of the central and primitive settlements of Essex County, Mr. Waters was endowed by nature with strong antiquarian instincts and love of thorough work, and he was able and inclined to follow his researches in original sources, and to produce history at first hand. Students of a more ambitious flight are appearing every day, who must draw their inspiration from books and institutions, but the original delver, while he specializes in a more limited field, and examines it microscopically, must come equipped with exhaustless patience and curiosity, and must be content to forego the wider reputation, but in his heart is conscious of an equal service to his craft.

Mr. Waters was born, April 12, 1851, in that section of Salem early known as "North Fields," and was prepared for college in the Salem Schools. He took his degree of A.B. with the Harvard Class of 1872, and earned such rank as entitled him to membership in Chapter Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa. He was then a student at the Andover Theological Seminary for three years, and began his pulpit ministrations at Edgartown in Martha's Vineyard. In 1879, he accepted the pulpit of the South Congregational Church of Ipswich, having married

at Edgartown Miss Adeline Orswell, who, with two children, survives him.

Mr. Waters was of English stock, and the coincidence is noted that four pioneers from the British Isles bearing the name of Waters were settled early in Salem, no two of whom seem to have been blood-relations. Through all the years spent by Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters in his gleanings among English records, he says he had an eye out for facts that would warrant him to refer those Waters immigrants to a common origin, but he never found such. Thomas Franklin Waters was the son of Thomas, and his grandfather, John, came to Salem in 1800 from Boston, where he had worked as a neighbor of Paul Revere. In Salem he established himself as a brass-founder and gunsmith in the vicinity of the historic North Bridge. The schools of Salem were good, and the father's ambition to send the son to college was readily gratified.

After brief experiences at Andover and at Edgartown, he settled down for his life-work at Ipswich, an ancient community in the midst of an ancient county, and began, under the best auspices, his study of the primitive, colonial life of the old shore town. Ipswich shared her ancient, birthright traditions with Salem, and had set off, from time to time, from her ample acreage, Essex, the cradle of the Choates, and Hamilton, the home of Manasseh Cutler, and had given birth to Nathan Dane, and, in the midst of such surroundings, such a scholar as Waters would have lacked imagination if he did not care to know what were the dreamy Indian legends that clustered about the sand-dunes and Hog Island, or what wrecks had strewn that wonderful broad beach, or where were the thatch-banks that furnished the growing hamlet with its chair-seats and cottage-roofing, or where they sought the candlewood that saved them tallow and rush-lights, or who planted the rows of fruit-trees that have been sunk to their topmost branches by the drifting sand.

The Essex Institute, founded in 1848, as the successor of the Essex Historical Society of an earlier generation, was earning for itself a great name in local history and science, under the tutelage of Judge White and Dr. Wheatland when, in 1867, the Peabody endowment gave such an impetus to scientific research in the County that the historical side of the house had

all it could do to maintain the balance. The accession of such an enthusiast as Mr. Waters was a most helpful occurrence. We had laborers in the vineyard in all parts of the County from the Merrimac Valley down, but, since the death of Oakes, whom Sir Charles Lyell visited at Ipswich, that venerable town had lacked its quota, and the new clergyman's presence at once made itself felt at the Essex Institute.

The list of contributions from the pen of Mr. Waters, recorded in the catalogues of the Ipswich Historical Society, of the Essex Institute and of the Massachusetts Historical Society, his membership in which last dates from 1914, is quite too long to be considered here. Aside from publications in his line of duty as Pastor and Pastor Emeritus of the South Parish of Ipswich, and as Founder and Life-President of the Ipswich Historical Society, his literary activities cover many pages, beginning with a Commemoration, in 1887, of the Second Century Centennial of the historic resistance offered by Ipswich to the Andros Tax. His publications deal with the development of Town Government, with the origin of the historic Thread Lace and Hosiery industry of Ipswich, with the history of the John Whipple house, now the Society's domicile, which has been called a "Village Hotel Cluny."

The restoration of the John Whipple house, one of the oldest in the Colony, clinging to life by a slender thread, and maintaining its interest because incorrectly associated with one of the Saltonstalls, was so conscientiously and ingeniously effected that it still provokes the admiration of the Country. Nathaniel Ward, the "Simple Cobbler of Agawam," a predecessor in the Ipswich Pulpit, a benefactor of Harvard, and the author of the "Magna Charta" of Massachusetts, is indebted to Mr. Waters for a new edition and a preface. For twelve years, from 1905 to 1917, Mr. Waters was engaged in preparing a two-volume record of "Ipswich in the Bay Colony," and no more fitting monument to his diligence and devotion could be devised than is furnished by these volumes. During the years of their preparation he joined this Society and became an unfailing attendant at its meetings. He formed a habit of reaching the rooms early on the day of meeting, in order to devote hours to the search for choice items in the work upon which he was engaged. Many of these impressions are pro-

fusely illustrated with original prints, not omitting among them an exhaustive history of Plum Island. And among them ranks a tribute, extending to 120 octavo pages, to the family of Augustine Heard, and his contemporaries bearing the honored names of Coggswell and Treadwell, to whom the town of Ipswich owes no end of obligations. In 1897, Mr. Waters read, before the Institute, a paper on the "Early Homes of the Puritans," in which he put on record, availing himself of all the help to be got from Felt, and Dr. Palfrey and Weeden and others who had forestalled him in that field, a portrayal of the times which no future inquirer can afford to overlook. Mr. Waters was engaged, when the death-summons came, on a memorial volume, "Ipswich in the World War," which he had nearly completed.

Mr. Waters was fortunate in finding, in the historic Appleton family of Ipswich, of which he diligently gathered and published a rare Memorial, a living member whose interest in local annals and whose large means made him an ideal backer, and their collaboration bore fruit in pageants and tablets and monuments reviving the careers of the historical characters associated with Ipswich. Such were Thomas Dudley, and Simon Bradstreet and his daughter Ann, "the tenth muse," and John Winthrop, the younger, and Sir Richard Saltonstall. Even this cursory review of his varied labors is enough to show that the Society may well pause a moment to regret his loss.

JANUARY MEETING, 1920.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the first Vice-President, Mr. WARREN, in the absence of the PRESIDENT, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian called attention to the desirability of having the works of members of the Society on the Library shelves.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Henry L. Higginson, a large framed photograph of Daniel Webster.

From Mr. Lane, a lithograph by Bufford, Boston, of the Putnam Free School, published by William Snell, of Newburyport, and several broadside prints.

From Farran Zerbe, of San Francisco, a fac-simile of a fifty-dollar gold slug of 1850.

From the Selectmen of the town of Cohasset, one of the service medals given by the town to her soldiers who served in the World War.

By exchange, an apparently undescribed example of Bryan money of 1896, with milled edge, bearing on the obverse, "Bullion Value 1896," and on the reverse, "Sixteen to One! We don't think"; also a large number of coins and forty examples of the work of Joseph H. Merriam, of Boston.[1]

By purchase: insignia of the Sons of the American Revolution; of the Order of the Founders and Patriots, New York; of the Massachusetts Chapter of St. George of the Holy Roman Empire in the Colonies of America; of the Sons of 1812; and of the Massachusetts Society of Colonial Wars.

[1] The name of Joseph H. Merriam, seal presses, brands and seals, is first found in the Boston Directory of 1854, in the rear of 147 Washington Street. The firm of Merriam Brothers, brands, seals and stencils, composed of Joseph H. and John C. Merriam, first appeared in 1856, at 37 Faneuil Hall Square. In the next year Joseph H. Merriam is alone, with a shop at 18 Brattle Square and remained there until 1865, when he drops from the record and John C. Merriam and Company (*i. e.* William N. Weeden) carry on the business in the same location.

The Editor reported the following accessions:

By gift: from Mrs. M. A. DeWolfe Howe (Fanny Huntington Quincy), a commonplace book kept by Josiah Quincy, Jr. (1744–1775), being extracts from political essays and parliamentary debates touching on government. Also a transcript by Quincy of law reports made by Edward Rutledge of South Carolina. The copy was made March 13, 1773, when Quincy was on his southern journey.[1] In the same volume are transcripts of South Carolina state papers, 1767–1768, and of Ward's *Simpler Cobler of Agawam*. Also letters and diaries of Helen Ruthven Waterston, daughter of Rev. Robert Cassie Waterston, and a number of scrap-books made by the Quincy and Waterston families. On deposit: a number of deeds of property held by the Quincys and the original journal of Josiah Quincy, Jr., on his southern tour in 1773, which has been printed in *Proceedings*, XLIX. 424.

From Mr. C. P. Greenough, a certificate of share in the School-House in Federal Street, Boston, issued to Thomas C. Amory and signed by Russell Sturgis and Thomas Handasyd Perkins.

By purchase: a letter, dated, London, July 4, 1637, written to the authorities of Massachusetts Bay, by Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, and Edward and Ferdinando Gorges. It relates to the claim of John Thompson, son of David Thompson, to Thompson's Island, Boston harbor.[2]

A number of papers relating to Groton, Massachusetts, more especially on church questions 1827–1883. The miscellaneous papers run from 1764 to 1826.

A ship's paper issued, London, April 27, 1742, to William Storey, master of the *Kilmore*, a ship built at Boston in 1735.

Will of William Curtis of Bristol, England, "mariner being now bound on a voyage beyond the seas," dated April 28, 1699.

Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow presented for deposit a series of diplomas or certificates issued to him in 1888 during his days of study in Japan. They are in the name of Gesshin, as a Buddhist disciple, and bear the seals of the Hieizan monastery and a list of various teachers through whom knowledge of the faith (according to the Tendai sect) was transmitted until it reached the student receiving the diploma.

Edward Gray, of Milton, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

[1] *Proceedings*, XLIX. 450.

[2] Shurtleff, *Topographical and Historical Description of Boston*, 503.

Mr. FORD read a paper by Mr. BRADFORD entitled "A Portrait of Henry Adams," which will be printed in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

BISHOP KENNETT TO BENJAMIN COLMAN.

The following letters from White Kennett (1660–1728) are in the collections of the Society, and were given by Mrs. Isaac P. Davis in 1856. The writer is best known as a collector of books, and of two of his gatherings one went to the library of the church of Peterborough, where it still remains; a second he presented to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and a part of it was sold at auction in 1917. He was consecrated Bishop of Peterborough November 9, 1718.

LONDON, Sept. 15, 1713.

Reverend Sir, — Tho I seem negligent in my due Acknowledgments for yours from Boston Nov. 4. 1712. yet among private frends I have often exprest my satisfaction in the Sense and Stile and Temper of it, and I do heartily accept such a Correspondence, and desire the continuance of it; for the sake of our common Cause of Charity to Souls, and of zeal to our Christian Religion.

I was under a great Temptation of communicating your Letter to a General Meeting of our Society, that I might have had their Instructions for an Answer to the Particulars contained in it. But then I thought myself restrained by some prudent intimations of your own and I was very unwilling to be the Occasion of drawing you into any Controversy or any Envy that too often attend us for speaking plain Truths, for *such* indeed I believe are the kind Informations you give me relating to the Places you mention; and I know you meant only to inform us, not to upbraid, or so much as accuse us with the Mention of them.

For I perceive you are sensible (as the wiser Part of Mankind must be) under what disadvantages we labour, as a Society holding Commerce with another World, for no Gain but that of Godlieness, and for pure Conscience Sake. It is possible, we are not so intent upon our Business, as if it were for *filthy Lucre*. We are not so constant in our Attendance, as Secular Companies or trading Bodies of Men would be. We are less exact in our Correspondence and Accounts, than if the dear Liberty and Property of this World depended on it. However our General Aim is to pursue our General Commission of planting Christianity according to the Ch. of England in those Parts of our English Plantations where there is no setled

Ministry; or for the benefit of great Numbers who can not in conscience conform to the Ways of Worship different from our establisht Church. We think that these two Provinces are committed to us, the *first* chiefly and primarily as our original Design, the *second* as an ordinary consequence of it. In the former we labour of our own Accord; to the latter we have never put our Hand, but upon the Call and Importunity of People on your side the Water. If they call when they have no Need, it is our Charity as well as our Credulity to believe them. If they misrepresent things to us, we must still take them for granted for want of better Information: nay and if different Accounts be given, we are apt to be partial in our Receiving or Rejecting for some respect or other.

I dare assure you the Case was thus in all those particular Places you take a right Notice of. We were not forward to obtrude our Charity, and had no Ambition to extend our Power or Care beyond our own Line. But the Motions began from the respective Places; we only yielded to the Request of Others, and if they impose upon our Ignorance at so great a Distance, they are to blame, and much the more if they gratifie their own passions, or serve their own interests by it. If we proceed upon Mistake in such Cases, Sincerity and good Intention is a Plea and Defence, upon which we hope God will accept us, and our Neighbours forgive us, if we have done them any Harm.

I need make no other Apology. You, Dear Sir, (if I can judge by the Spirit of one single Letter) have Sens[e] and largeness of Soul to make allowances for greater faults than any I hope we have been guilty of: we should fall into much greater, at this vast Distance, if God of his grace did not (upon our Prayers) continually direct and preserve us.

It is our being misinform'd and misguided in some ways, that increases our Desire of having Bishops setled in those foreign Parts committed to our Care, that *they* may judge better of Things and Persons within their own View. There seems to be a Prospect of fixing one Bishop on the Islands and another on the Continent. But alas there is so much of an Ecclesiastical and of a Civil Nature in this Affair, and such a Concurrency required here at Home and Abroad, that what Issue it may come to, we are yet uncertain. And whether at this Juncture we should make a discreet choice of fit Men for that Office, I dare not pretend to guess. I hope your Churches would not be jealous of it, they being out of our Line, and therefore beyond the cognisance of any Overseers to be sent from hence. What time may do, with the Spirit of Knowledge and Charity, to make all the English in America of one Heart and of one way of

Discipline and Worship, I recommend to your Prayers, and add my own.

I can answer for my own Conscience, that from the Beginning of our Society I have acted as a Member of it upon the Principle of Doing Good. I have been at some Labour, and have not grudg'd some little Expence in picking up the Beginning of a Library for the use of our Corporation. I am publishing the Catalogue (which I hope shortly to send you) under this title, *Bibliotheca Americana Primordia. An attempt towards laying the foundation of an American Library in Several Books, Papers, and Writings, humbly given to the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for the perpetual Use and Benefit of their Members, their Missionaries, Friends, Correspondents and Others concerned in the good Design of Planting and Promoting Christianity within her Majesties Colonies and Plantations in the West Indies. By a member of the said Society.* 4to.

I am very glad to understand by our very sensible Friend Mr. Dummer, that a public Library is going on at Boston. I have sent a small tract or two by the hands of Mr. Dummer as a Mite to the Treasury; and shall be willing to give and procure more, when I better apprehend the constitution of it. Our exchanging Sir the good offices of common Charity and public Spirit, will help much (under God's Blessing) to enlarge our Understandings, and to reconcile our Affections to one Another and so to meet nearer upon Earth, and inseparably in Heaven. Let be these our mutual Prayers and Endeavours. I am, Dear Sir, Your Assured Friend and Affectionate Brother,

WHITE KENNETT.

I should be glad to be commended to the President of Hawarden Coll:[1] of whom I have heard a good and honourable character; tho I am a Stranger to him.

PETERBOROUGH, July 28. 1716.

DEAR SIR, — My thoughts reprove me often for not being more civil to a Stranger, rather to a Friend and Correspondent, whom by all that I have read and heard of him I have good reason to value and esteem. My thanks have been long due for the Books you sent over to improve our *American Library*, which is not yet dispos'd in a proper Place for want of some special Benefactor, but I am adding what I can to the number of Tracts suitable to the Arguments of Navigation, etc., and doubt not (if God spare a few years) to make it a Collection not unworthy the *good Design*.

[1] John Leverett.

That good Design of propagating Christianity in your Parts has lost the wisest Director and President of it, the late Archbishop of Canterbury,[1] whose Aim and Care in those Matters (as in all others) were guided by a truly Christian Spirit for the Public Good of the Protestant Religion. He put a stop to many indirect Motions and Steps made to put us out of the way; and prevented a great deal of interruption and embarrassment that would have been otherwise given to us. He was a wise and honest Prelate, truly sensible that at home and abroad we were under a great danger of losing Christianity in the Name of the *Church.*

The two great difficulties that still lye hard upon our *Society for Propagation of the Gospel* are 1. the want of sober and religious Missionaries, few or none offering themselves to that Service for the glory of God and the good of Souls but chiefly to find Refuge from poverty and scandal. 2. Such men when they come to the places allotted to them forget their Mission, and instead of propagating Christianity, are only contending either for Rites and Ceremonies, or for Powers and Priviledges, and are disputing with the Vestries of every Parish, and even with the Civil Government of every Province. These two Mischiefs can hardly be redress'd, but by fixing Schools and Universities in those Parts, and settling we hope two Bishops, one for the Continent, another for the Islands, with advice and assistance of Presbyters to ordain fit Persons especially Natives, and to take care of all the Churches. Which needful Provision will not break in upon your National Rights and Customs, at least no other way, than by laying a foundation (we'll hope and you'll agree) for the Union of all Protestants in some future Age, when Charity and Peace shall prevail above Interest and Passion.

We have no great Prospect I confess of such happieness in our old England where the Spirit of dissension and faction (nay of the utmost Infatuation) has rag'd horribly, and is not yet cast out. I think I saw long since, that the Beginnings of this Sorrow were the Seeds of Popery scattered in the minds of common People with strange industry and Art, to smooth the way for a Popish Pretender. Noise and Nonsens were very prevailing, and at last the word given out was, *I had rather be a Papist than a Presbyterian;* and under this delirious Cant, the poor Souls were prepared to cry out *the Church, the Church*, as loud as if they had been in the streets of *Rome*, and to idolize a seditious *Doctor* as much as if he had been a Pope of this other world.

The People in this ferment were disposed to read and admire the

[1] Thomas Tenison (1636–1715). He was largely instrumental in establishing the Society and believed America should have bishops.

daily Pamphlets thrown about to reconcile them more and more to Popery under the pretences of *Divine Rights*, *Uninterrupted Succession*, *Independent State of the Church*, the Expediency and even Necessity of *Private Confession*, the immediate Effects of *Sacerdotal Absolution*, the *Invalidity of Baptism* out of Episcopal Communion: a *Priest*, an *Altar*, a real *Sacrifice* in the Lord's Supper; a *Middle State of Souls*, no harm at least in *Prayers for the Dead*, and many other Devices approaching as near to Rome as present Safety would admit. All which Conceits you well know sprung up as tares of the Enemy long after our Blessed Reformation, and I think never appear'd till a little before the Beginning of the Civil Warrs, under the influence of a Court that had too much of the Popish Queen in it; and were now reviv'd to serve no other purpose but that of the interest of a Popish Impostor. Only there was some difference in the times, for before those Civil Warrs None run into those Notions but some of the warmer and more ambitious Clergy, whereas now the Common People and the very Women have their heads full of them.

Under these Delusions a Multitude have been giving up to believe the Idol at Avignon to be something and worthy to be set up: *given up* alass to the Beliefe of any Lies, and to the practice of many Romish Superstitions. Some would not goe to their Seats in the Church, till they had kneel'd and pray'd at the Rails of the Communion-Table; they would not be content to receive the Sacrament there kneeling, but with Prostration and striking of the Breast and kissing of the Ground: they began to think the Com: Prayer without a Sermon (at least after Noon) to be the best way of serving God; and Churches without Organs had the thinner Congregations: New Ornaments and even Pictures about the Altar began to be the Books of the Vulgar: the Meeting Houses of Protestant Dissenters were thought to be more defiled Places than Popish Chapells. In short, the Herd of People were running toward Rome without any foresight or any power of looking backward.

To this Madness of the People was the Rebellion owing, now one is quelled the other will abate; and our greatest Deliverance under King GEORGE will be that of being delivered from Ourselves, and being restored not only to our Religion and Liberties but to our Senses.

Great and glorious are the Triumphs of King George; I cannot bring the Intimation of them within the bounds of a Letter, but in a very abrupt manner.

1. The King has subdued the Resentments of the Emperour, who was angry with our Nation, and car'd to deal no farther with us; and 'tis well known was not tractable to two or three Embassadours sent

successively from this Court. But as last, the wise conduct and prevailing weight of K. George have brought his Imperial Majestie into good terms with us and a firm Alliance.[1]

II. The King has subdued the prejudices of the K. of Spain,[2] who had a real fondness for the Pretender,[3] had passt his word to restore him, and had planted his Irish Embassadour in the Queen's closet to help forward that intended Restoration: And yet his Catholick Majestie feeling the impressions of the fame and interest of King GEORGE is brought over to Him, and to court his Friendship, has done justice to our injured Peace and Commerce, and redeem'd us from our own hands that betray'd us.

III. The King has in effect settled the dubious Inclinations of the Regent of *France*,[4] who seem'd in *good faith* to goe on upon the Plan of the old Monarch, and was allmost disposed to enable the Pretender to pay off his Mortgage to that his School of Education: But he is well nigh vanquisht by the superiour Genius of King GEORGE, and at his Request will not only restore the poor Protestant Slaves to liberty, but will perhaps take up their chains, and put them upon the necks of the Pope and his congregation of Cardinals.

IV. The very Great *Turk*[5] is yielding to the influences of King GEORGE'S wisdom and power, and contrary to the usual Policy of his Ottoman Port, will receive and return Embassadours, to put the scale of the Peace of Europe into the hands of his Britannic Majestie.

V. The King of *Sweden*[6] is the last Prince who would be guided by any counsels but his own, harden'd in warr, and deaf to any other charms: and yet possibly the time is very near, when he likewise shall hearken to the offer of Mediation made by a more potent Neighbour and suffer the Peace of the North to be adjusted by the same auspicious Majestie of Great Britaine.

His Triumphs and Conquests at home are no less considerable. Not that the chasing away a sorry Pretender, and the reducing a few Rebells ought to be numbered among the Triumphs of King GEORGE; but there be some greater Instances of Success and Glory in his wise and steady Administration.

I. Many of the former *Ministry*, bold Men, who held up their heads, and even boasted of their Peace and other Actions, they are

[1] Charles VI (1685–1740). The treaty of Westminster was signed May 25 (O. S.) 1716.

[2] Philip V (1683–1746).

[3] James Francis Edward, Chevalier de St. George (1688–1766).

[4] Philip II, Duke of Orleans (1674–1723) regent during the minority of Louis XV (1710–1774).

[5] Ahmed III (1687–1736).

[6] Charles XII (1682–1718).

several of them convinc't of the King's Sagacity and Resolution, that they can neither deceive him, nor affright him; and therefore would be glad of any terms of yielding; and I dare say in a little time their only Contention will be among themselves, whose Submission shall be first and best accepted.

II. Many of the condemned *Criminals* who seem'd resolved One and All to extort Mercy, or to dye like *Dar:* in desperate falshood, or like *Ken:* in sullen silence, begin to find that even abused Mercy can still be mercifull; that there is no other Refuge to a Mob nor to any mistaken Politicians, and therefore submit to a wise and a good Prince, and are I hope conquered into Ingenuity and Christian Confession.

III. A Set of Great Men who have been taught of late to think themselves necessary to a Government, and in that confidence to prefer their own Interest or even their own Humour before any other Regards, are brought over to more becoming measures of Loyalty, by one or two examples made by a steady Prince, who is never ingrate for Services, nor insensible of Wrongs.

IV. The popular Speakers in a great Assembly, who by a pervers English custom have learn'd to speech it against a Court, in order to be bought over to it upon their own terms, begin to be untaught those ill Manners, and to know that a good Prince in a legal Administration wants no indirect ways and means of purchasing Men; and that a Subject of never so good Parts and Elocution is no longer to be retain'd, than while he can keep himself within the bounds of Modesty and Honour.

V. The whole Body of the Papists in these Kingdoms who had so long flattred themselves with the hopes of setting up their Religion with a pretended Prince of it, are well nigh utterly subdued in those hopes and expectations; and begin some to be Converts, and Others to think more seriously of the Protestant Religion, at a Juncture when they foresee it must be safe and flourishing under a Prince, who is not only Defender of that Faith at home, but is at the head of the Protestant Interest in Europe.

VI. The disaffected Clergy who were dissolving all Government by advancing wrong Notions of it, will no longer keep up a Distinction between Divine Right and Legal Constitution, but will again reconcile the Gospel of Christ and the Laws of the Land, and be good Divines and good Subjects under a Supreme Governour, who despises Flattery, and desires no other Principles from them, but such as in reason and conscience they can practise in spite of rebelling Nature.

VII. The two Universities that must needs have had their share in a common Contagion, are growing sensible what little thanks they

owe to those buisy Men who have spread the poyson among them: they are opening their eyes to see, that K. GEORGE is a true Friend of the Church of England, and a true Patron of Learning. He must daily gain upon them, for they cannot withstand an immense Bounty and an insuperable Constancy and Courage.

These few particulars are but Hints and Intimations, which you and your good Brethren know how to improve. My Respects and Services to you and them, and especially to the worthy President of Hawarden College.

I must not conclude before I pay Truth and Justice to the character of Mr. Dummer Agent of your Country here, who by smart abilities, and unwearied diligence, and a good interest in Men of figure, has been I believe very serviceable to your common Affaires, and very instrumental in obtaining a new Governour [1] whose vertue and prudence (if I mistake not) will make you All easy and happy.

Let us join in our Prayers for the King's safe Return and long Life, and for the Progress of Christianity, and Increase of the Protestant Religion. I am, Dear Sir, Your Affectionate Friend,

WHITE KENNETT.

March 13. 1716.7.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR, — Your two several Letters from Boston of October 1. and November 10. 1716 were both very agreeable to Me, and I shall be very glad to keep up such a Friendly Correspondence as becomes us in the valuable and ever dear Relation of Christian and Protestant and English Brethren, who are ready to love and serve our common faith and Countrey. But you see we must write, as we would personally converse, in a mutual confidence of safe Privacy and between Ourselves: So far we can answer for our own Integrity, and dare be confident on either Side that we mean no Harm, but in the simplicity of our own Hearts to trust One Another. Whereas you find by experience, that if we are free in communicating our Letters, tho' in the openness of our own Breasts, we expose them to the want of Understanding in Some, and to the want of Charity in others, to Strangers and Enemies to us.

You have Sir an Instance of this Partiality well observed in your last Letter, the catching at invidious Facts, and then questioning and even denying the Truth of them. I had it seems inform'd you in great Innocence and with great Truth, that among the Delusions prevailing in the Name of *High Church*, there was a visible Superstition tending towards *Popery* in the writings of some Few of our

[1] Samuel Shute (1662–1742).

Clergy, and in the practise of some more of our ignorant People; beyond and against the received Doctrine and Discipline of the establisht Church of England. I might have said that this Humour was more abounding than it was in the daies of *ABp. Laud*, when we paid so dear for it. Upon the latter Head of Innovation in Practise, I toucht upon what I had often seen, some people affecting to begin their private Devotions at the Rails of the Commun. Table, before they went to their Seats or other Stations in the Church: and Oţhers or the Same assuming new Gestures and Postures in receiving the H. Sacrament, smiting their breasts, prostrating their faces to the ground, receiving the bread in the palm of their Hand, bowing down their lips to it, as unworthy to touch it with their fingers, and such like Fooleries not prescribd by our Liturgy nor practisd by our forefathers. I have seen too many more of such like Signs and Tokens of a new Disposition in the Minds of People to an outward Show of zeal and pagentry, that however innocently taken up by some undesigning Souls, yet was privily and artfully brought in by cunning Men, in favour and for the service of a Popish Pretender and his Kingdom of Darkness.

I could write nothing more true than what had been my daily Observation, and God knows I had no ill Meaning in the Mention of it, but justly to condemn it, and honestly to help reform it. Our Church itself was not concernd in giving out any such new Orders: our Superiours did not professedly allow of any such new Fashions; and the wiser Part of our Clergy did all they could to discountenance and put them down; nay the greater Part of our Communicants still avoided them and despis'd them. The Humour was got chiefly among the inferiour Sort of women, who had before kneeld in the way of Dr. Sacheverell and Kisst the tail of his Gown or Cassok.

These Fooleries indeed might the rather be forgiven in a Time of general Infatuation upon the Minds of People and as general a Corruption of Manners. We see and lament the sad Contagion spreading in our establisht Communion, and you have sens enough to let me tell you as a very charitable Friend, that there is somewhat of a like wrong Spirit among our Dissenting Brethren or the Body of them. The good old tenderness of Conscience is visibly abated, the strict Regard to Sobriety and Temperance is very much alter'd; the keeping up Family Prayers and Fear of God in Children and Servants is wearing off apace; Bibles are less read, and Sabbaths less observd, etc. In short they are very much gone off from the *good old Puritans*, who had certainly a more sober Deportment and a more serious Sens of Religion and Devoutness in them.

And this Degeneracy at a time when they have been in greatest Danger, and ought to have been most upon their guard of Piety and Prudence, For whereas the good *old Puritans* were all along Popular and well Beloved, upon the just Reputation of being a sober Godly Party, who spoke better and liv'd better than most of their Neighbours: It so happens on the contrary (God knoweth how) that our Dissenters of late have had the common Cry against them: the Laws could hardly protect them, the Government allmost afraid to defend them, and if the Bishops and Clergy whom they call the Low Church would have fell into that Stream of Prejudice against them, they had been driven (as the Wind and Tide have long sate) into a State of Persecution and the utmost Desertion, wherein the Body of the Clergy and People would have thought they had done God good Service.

And yet the Dissenters (perhaps to a Man) have had one of the greatest Merits, that of being true to their Country and to the Balance of Europe, allwaies well affected to the Protestant Succession, and very faithfull Subjects of King George and firm Adherents to his Royal Family. An Advantage that one would think might before this time have been improv'd to their Security and Honour. And so undoubtedly it would have been if they had follow'd the Steps of the *good old Puritans*, and had once more the esteem of a Peaceable and Religious People, if they had been ready to join with the sound and moderate Bishops and Clergy, and had complain'd only of Innovations unknown to the first Reformers, requiring only some few Concessions to be made to them, showing themselves truly tender of the Peace and Unity of Church and State, and allway more zealous for a good Life and good Works, than for any other matter of Contention. Such a Spirit of God in a still Voice will at some Providential Time or other heal all our Breaches, and frustrate the hopes of the Common Enemy.

You see how freely and heartily I set down my own present Thoughts and Wishes and I have that Opinion of your Understanding and good Conscience, that I can not but think we could talk over these matters without any ill Resentments and at least with good Will and Charity. But I cannot answer for the different Impression upon other Minds, indispos'd with Prejudice and Passion. And therefore I trust your Discretion that you only intimate my Freedom of Writing to a Few of the Best of your own Brethren, and particularly to the worthy President, to all whom my hearty Service and Respects.

I thought to add somewhat of our present State of Affairs, but I reserve this to another Letter if the Opportunity of Shipping will

attend a day or two longer. I pray God preserve us and amend us all for the continuance of his good Providence to us.

I am, Dear Sir, Your very Affectionate Friend and Brother,

Wm: Kennett.

I thank you for your very right good Sermon. I send you the last of my public Exercises.

James Street, Westminster. June 5th. 1718.

Dear Sir, — Our good friend Mr. Dummer is a kind Monitor to me, that by this shipping I ought to send a Letter to his worthy Mr. Coleman. I gladly take the opportunity of expressing my hearty Thanks for your last, and my Willingness to keep up a Correspondence with one whom I know so well by his own Writings and by others' good Report, that I should be glad if Providence would allow us a nearer Conversation.

You'll rejoice to hear that by the wonderfull Mercy of God we are preserved in Peace and Happiness amidst a general Infatuation of Minds and Corruption of Manners; that we are yet Safe in spite of our Enemies and in Spite of Ourselves.

Our never failing Enemies the *Papists* are (one would think) the only steady Men, and Allwaies the same in pursuing their uniform Design of setting up their own Religion and the Creature of their own in order to do it; by all those waies and means that force or fraud can make possible. The *Pope* is more infallible with them for espousing the Chevalier. The King of *Spain* shall be more Catholick if his Arms in *Italy* can restore Indefeasible Right to Great *Britain;* Or even the *K. of Sw*[*eden*] shall be absolved from his Northern Heresie, if he will answer their Expectations, and make but one Attempt for them.

The Non-Jurors or Protestant Jacobites are much more unreasonable Men, they think that Laws and Parliaments are Nothing, and that there is but one Right in the World that of Personal Succession. To this simple Divine Right all other Claims of Liberty, Property and Conscience itself must bow down and surrender themselvs, in a Passive Obedience proud of being Miserable. Nay and to bring back that Curse upon a Nation, they think all things lawfull, Plots, Conspiracies, Invasions, and even horrid Assassination of Princes, For so some have spirited up young Disciples, who in professt Intention and unshaken Insolence have exceeded if possible any Novices in the Schools of the Jesuits, more daringly wicked and obstinate, it suffices them to be absolved at Death, and to be taken from the Gallows to be hung up again in Effigie for Saints and Martyrs. It

has been literally so with Shepheard, and *Orme* if he will stand to it shall have the same Reward. Good God. What can become of such a Party, and what of us if ever they prevail.

We need no other Enemies, but God knows we have a strange sort of *Friends*, that are perhaps more dangerous to Church and State. They are Men who acknowledge Titles and take Oaths and would seem to be Subjects, nay and would be supposed to be the only Church-Men, when by unaccountable prejudice, they do in their hearts hate the Revolution, curse the memory of King William, murmur at the Protestant Succession, and can speak well of no part of any Reign, but the last three years of Queen ANNE. And some of these Men too have invented Principles as extravagant as any at *Rome;* that they may take Protection where they mean no Allegiance, that they may pray for Princes only in a sort of civil Complement to them; that they may swallow any Oaths for Necessity, nay for Conveniency, and leave the Sin upon the heads of the Imposers of them. In a word, that they may submit to K. George while they cannot help it, and not be Rebells till they are able to be so.

The greater Pity still, that after the Pride of being called *Tories* we should have any *Whigs* so calling themselves, and so really in Principle and in all former Conversation; and yet they would be, they would have, they know not what. They would govern a Prince who should govern All but *them*. They would have all Places, or they would have none at all: Ambitious to be *in*, Proud to be *out*, as they are in or out of Humour, Capricious, Sullen, Angry with others without cause, and then with greater reason angry with themselves; hanging upon wheels because they cannot drive, and — playing the Fool, if that were All.

And are there no Faults among our best Friends? They likewise are Men and have human Infirmities. Some too indolent and unconcerned, who will be eating and sleeping, if the greatest Enemy were behind them and upon them. Others in Dress and the Life of Show and Appearance for Assemblies and Masquerades and other opportune Places of Vanity and Sin, some again aspiring to new Titles and Ornaments of Honour without Merit without Action or Counsel. Some intent upon Nothing but their Profit and their clear Gain, the Publick Interest is what they can make of it; the World goes well or ill, as they have so much more or less, the Nation is their own Person or at farthest their own Family. If you talk of sun-shine, they think it no Blessing but for making their own hay. They must have somewhat, if no Place, then a Pension, nay both, and much the same Price to take a Place or to leave it. And the wisest Politicians allmost afraid to be in earnest; hardly willing to remember Injuries

or Services; thinking it safer to buy of an Enemy, than to reward an old Friend, and when they do reward it is rather to comply with Men's Importunity, than to consider their Deserts. However Promises are the cheapest things, and there is a way to make them good, or to evade them which is much at one. These things are common to good Men in the best Cause.

But how then shall we stand and prosper? Our Hope our Confidence is *first* in the good Providence of God, who has been working many Wonders for us, from the Reformation to this Protestant Succession to this Day, and He will uphold and finish I verily believe the Work of his own Hands whoever labour to pull it down.

Then II. the Merit of our Cause, or what we may call the Intrinsick Goodness of it, the Cause of Christians, of Protestants, of Mankind, of Liberty, Property, Religion; a Cause that Men may neglect or despise while they enjoy it, but when they come to lose or to the danger of losing, they'll naturally come to their Senses, and try again to defend or recover such a *Cause*. I remember in the latter end of K. James's reign; the maddest Tories were wishing for a redemption from Popery and Slavery; and I dare say if the pretended Son [1] were to come, even they who invite him would turn upon him and help drive him out again; tho that indeed would be a dear Experiment.

And therefore III. We trust better to the firmness and constancy of a wise and valiant Prince, who can mark the unhappy Steps of his Predecessor, and will be (as we can wish to be) *Steady*, *Steady*, whatever the Tide or Storm is or may be.

And lastly under God and the King we place some confidence in a wise and faithfull Ministry, who may be Wise upon the Follies of many who have gone before them, and will be faithfull in Gratitude and Honour: who must act upon this View, that if their Master will give them up, their most faithfull Administration would not long secure them; for complaints would be even if there were no faults; it would be Fault enough that they can never gratifie all Men. But if they can depend upon wh[*torn*] and shall h[ave nothin]g to answer for but their own [*torn*]ty and Honesty, then that Honesty will certainly be their true and best Policy, for under a wise and steady Prince no Ministry can be hurt, but by Male-Administration, by Corruption and illegal Practise, which I think can not be chargd upon the present Ministry, and I hope never will. — But you see I am going out of my depth, by writing in a familiar way to a private

[1] The Pretender was the only son of James II by his second wife, Mary of Modena. As five years had passed since the queen had given birth to a child, the incredulity of the nation on the event was great, but had no basis in fact.

Friend, Secure that Neither of us mean any Harm. Pray we God to preserve our Peace and Prosperity, and Dear Sir your Health and Happiness. I am Your Affectionate Friend and Brother,

WHITE KENNETT.

Tho I have not the honour of being acquainted with your worthy Governour, I have a great Respect for him, and the more on account of his Brother Barrington,[1] whom I sometimes meet with in this Town and therefore presume to give my Respects to him.

My service to your Brethren, and especially to the good President of Hawarden Coll:

There is one Subject that a prudent or a good natur'd Man would not care to touch upon. Unhappy Breach! if any widen it, they are very wicked. I am no Judge, for I have Children, and I have a little Jurisdiction in the Church, and I am apt therefore to be Partial on the Side of the Governour and the Parent. *Beati Pacifici* etc.

February 25. 1722.3.

REV. SIR, — I have often accus'd myself of negligence (which I beg you would not think a Disrespect) in not writing to you. It is not for any Change of Station, and much less for any Alteration of Christian Charitable Sentiments, but out of pure Hurry of Life and necessary Application to Men and Things and Books. I thank you heartily for your very good Sermon on occasion of the Jewish Convert [Monis] to Christianity:[2] I wish you would republish it with some Declaration of Motives and Reasons given by the Person himself; and a Catalogue of such eminent Converts from Judaisme to our Reformed Religion, as have been publickly Baptized, and have many of them publisht very sound Testimonies of their real Conversion and Sincerity in our Faith and Worship. I think I could furnish you with near a hundred Instances out of my poor Collections if you will make the seasonable Use and Application of them.

I was sent to this moment by my good Neighbour Chamberlayne to write a Line to you and have put up a little parcell for your Amusement, and desire you to esteem me and to pray for me as Your very Affect[ionate] Friend and Brother,

WH: PETERBOR.

JAMES STREET, WESTM[INSTER,] March 23. 1723.4.

REVEREND SIR, — Your agreeable Letter from Boston N. E. came safe to my hands within a due time from the Date Octob. 30. 1723.

[1] John Shute Barrington, Viscount Barrington (1678–1734).

[2] *Proceedings*, LII. 285.

with a very kind Present of your Publick Services, your *Discourse before the Baptism of R. Judah Monis*, with the *three Discourses written by Mr. Monis himself*. Your *Funeral Discourse upon the Death of the very Reverend and Aged Dr. Increase Mather;* and your *Sermon Preachd at the Ordination of Mr. Cooper*. All which I communicate to Others, and preserve for myself.

The case of Mr. Monis will be a credit to our Religion if he continue firm in our Faith, and exemplary in his Christian Life; but truly I am so doubtfull of the Sincerity of Converts, especially from that obstinate Party, who act upon temporal Motives towards a Temporal Messiah, that I shall not be much surprized if we are at last deceived in him. However, if possible, let no Offence be given to him, that if he do fall away, it may be his own Crime and Shame. We have a new Instance in the Conversion and Baptism of the eldest Son of Mr. Marcus Moses a very rich Jeweller in London, who has publishd the Motives of his Conversion (with some good assistance) in a plausible manner. And yet we have Reason to be afraid, that he owes his Profession not to the Law of the Gospel, but to an Act of Parliament, which gives him a Separate Maintenance. The suit now depending in Chancery, and the Affidavits made in it of his Immorality and Indifference to all Religion, incline me much to that Suspicion of him. No doubt there will in God's time be a General Conversion of that People, and many particular Pretensions in the mean time. God alone can judge of hearts, till we see they persevere unto the End.

This last Week the opulent Jews about this town obtaind in the H. of Com. a Clause in the Explanatory Act for taking the Oaths, by vertue of which they would have been declared capable of purchasing Lands and Lordships, and put in effect upon equal foot with other his Ma'ties Liege and sworn Christian Subjects. When it came to the H. of Peers I thought it my Duty to oppose it pleading that no Oaths of Allegiance were ever design'd for the Jews, much less the Oath of Abjuration professtly to be taken upon the *Faith of a Christian;* that the Jews had been allways here conniv'd at as Foreigners without any title to free born Subjects, had dealt as Usurers and Money Changers, but had never been allowed to be free Purchasers and Land Holders; that whatever Opinion might be given by Lawyers that they could find no Act of Parl[iament] or Force of Com[mon] Law to forbid the Right of Purchasing by such Jews as were born in his Ma'ties Dominions, or were made Free Denizens by his Ma'ties Letters Pat[ent], yet even this considered them as Native or Adopted Subjects not as Original Jews; and it made a stronger Reason against extending that Privilege to all manner of Jews, who might thereby

bring over all their dispersed Tribes and Treasures, and become able to purchase the City, the whole Country, and be the Lords of our Courts and the Patrons of our Churches; and be at last the National People; which would be for us Men to repeal the Divine Curse laid upon them; and even to encourage their setting up a Messiah in this Island, if they should here obtain more Property and more Power than in any other part of the World.

What was said by some few other Lords had so good effect that the Clause was amended, and only gave liberty to those Jews who should *offer* themselves to take the Oaths, to omit the words in *the Faith of a Christian*, and to be indulged to swear in like manner as they have been usually allowed to do in the Courts of Justice (i. e. laying their hands on the Pentateuch or Old Test[ament] and concluding, So help me God, etc.).

In your Discourse upon the Death of Mr. *Mather* you have done his Memory great Justice with great Modesty the best way of commending.

By your Ordination Sermon I perceive you have changed an irregular Custom into much more Decency and Order, by not suffering the young Candidate to make then his Probation Sermon, but to have the Preparatory Discourse made by a Senior more apt and able to teach.

I have nothing worth your Acceptance; I put up in hast Mr. Ollyff's[1] Discourse upon the Madness of some People, very well meant and most of it plain Truth. With a Discourse of Dr. Smallbrook[2] our new Bishop of St. Davids on the Text of St. John in the Complutens. Bible. I wish when you run over our Catalogues or public Papers, you would point out to me any two or three of the Tracts you would desire to see, and I should be glad to transmit them to you, or to do any other Office or Service in Learning or in our Common Holy Religion. My prayers for you. I am, Your Affect-[tionate] Friend and Brother,

WH: PETERBOR.

WESTM[INSTER]. March 19. 1727.8.

REVEREND SIR, — I take it very kindly, that you have remembred me with a good Token of Friendship, the well accepted Present of your late Labours for God and the Publick Good. Your Discourse of *Fidelity to Christ and to the Protestant Succession*,[3] was a Word in

[1] John Ollyffe (1647–1717).

[2] Richard Smalbroke (1672–1740), bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. In 1722 he wrote a letter to Bentley on the authenticity of 1 John, v. 7.

[3] A sermon delivered after the proclaiming of George II, 1727.

Season, and savour'd with such a Spirit of Religion and Loyalty, as to leave a due Impression upon the Readers, as I doubt not it did upon the Hearers of it. I have pointed out to Many the Passage in the Preface that the *American Churches know not of one single Person in that Communion that is not Loyally affected to his Majesty and to his House.* We do a little envy you that singular glory, and hope we shall soon be full Partakers with you. For his Majestie's wise and good Administration must win upon the hearts of all who have their eyes open on this side the Gulph of Popery and Slavery.

Your serious Discourse of the *Judgments of Providence* [1] must have been very affecting, while your People had so lately heard the voice of God in them. I am much of your Opinion, that as the Earth was once dissolved by waters, it will be so at last by Fire and in the bowels of the earth that Fire is already kindled: God prepare us for the general Conflagration. I hope some of your accurate Observers took Notes of the Symptoms and Incidents of your late Storms and Earthquake, to communicate to our Royal Society, for the more critical Enquiry into the Causes and Effects of 'em. This perhaps is allready done, tho I have not seen it.

Your Ordination Sermon is well suited to the occasion and instructive to your Ministers and People. You shew Charity and Brotherly Love to the Memory of the most *Reverend Bishop Burnet.* I could rather wish you had not mentioned the *Black Barthol[omew] Day*, not only to prevent your Printer's mistake of 1660 for 62, but to spare the calling of hard things to remembrance. It was an Act of the Legislature, and was at that time thought of Political Necessity for restoring Peace and Union. And among the number of *Ejected*, many went out by conscience, but many I doubt were drawn in by secret Powers, etc. But I do not mean to dispute.

We had last week in the H. of Lords a very long Debate upon this Question: Whether a Foreigner by taking the Sacrament in a Lutheran Chapell here was thereby qualified to be Naturalized in this Kingdom according to the Act of Parl. VII. Jas. I. Cap. II. Some argued for Parochial Communion in the Established Church: Others for the Latitude of Protestant Communion in any Congregation of the Foreign Churches here Allowd. Our Bench argued for the Honour of the Evangelical and Reformed Churches, and for the common Interest of the Protestant Religion. And it was at last carried without dividing.

I could wish my daily Attendance at the House and many other Avocations did not hinder my writing more at length. I pray God

[1] On the Earthquake.

for you, and desire your Prayers. I am, Your Loving Brother and Assured Friend,

WHITE PETERBOR.

Pray accept the small Packet of things that lay next at hand, of which I thought there might be some you had not yet seen.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. WASHBURN, WENDELL and ENDICOTT.

John T. Hassam

MEMOIR

OF

JOHN TYLER HASSAM

By JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE.

John Tyler Hassam, whose membership in the Historical Society from November 10, 1881, to his death on April 22, 1903, proved to be a source of pleasure and of pride to him, was often in attendance at the meetings of the Society, and from time to time contributed valuable papers to its proceedings. The late William S. Appleton, who had with Mr. Hassam kindred antiquarian and historical interests at heart, was sponsor for his admission to the Society; and Mr. Hassam's first expression of gratitude for his election was intended for his then unknown friend.

From boyhood Mr. Hassam's associations were all with Boston and her institutions, as were most of those of his parents. The direct ancestral line of the family had its beginning in Manchester, Mass., on the settlement of William Hassam (or Horsham) there about the year 1684; where the family home continued for a century and a half. This William, who married at Marblehead on December 4, 1684, Sarah, daughter of Samuel Allen of Manchester, died there about 1735. Jonathan, his son, born on August 17, 1702, a master mariner, was married on August 10, 1727, to Mary Bennett, and died on February 21, 1754. William, son of Jonathan, born on August 11, 1752, a master mariner, was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Ambrose Allen, May 15, 1780, and died on April 9, 1833. Jonathan, William's son, born on May 23, 1784, also a master mariner, was married on October 22, 1808, to Sally, daughter of John

Cheever, a descendant in the fifth generation from Ezekiel Cheever, Master of the Grammar School at Ipswich, 1650–1661; of the free school at Charlestown, 1661 to 1670; and of the Boston Latin School from 1670 to his death in 1708. John, son of Jonathan, born on September 4, 1809, was married on May 15, 1836, to Abby, daughter of Capt. Amos Hilton, a descendant in the eighth generation from William, who came in the ship *Fortune* to Plymouth in 1621; and died in Boston, on August 3, 1885. John Tyler, the subject of this memoir, son of John, born in Boston at No. 3 Barton Street, the family home, on September 20, 1841, was married at Salem on February 14, 1878, to Nelly Alden, daughter of Dr. John Henry and Jane Reed (Smith) Batchelder of that place.

Mr. Hassam received his early education in the Mayhew School where on his graduation in 1856 at the age of fourteen he was presented with a Franklin Medal, a silver medal given annually as an honorary reward in accordance with the will of Benjamin Franklin, "for the encouragement of scholarship" in the Boston schools. He passed through the full course in the Boston Latin School in three years, winning at his graduation in 1859 another Franklin Medal. He completed his course at Harvard College with the Class of 1863, and later received his degree of A.M. in course; was a member of the Institute of 1770, and of the O. K. Society; and was selected as Class Poet in January, 1863, only to resign the choice in the following March. Responding to the call of his country he entered its service, when he was given a commission as First Lieutenant of the Seventy-fifth United States Colored Infantry on December 8, 1863, and saw active service in the Red River campaign and until August 1, 1864.

Mr. Hassam's father, when a lad of fourteen, in 1823, came to Boston and learned the trade of bookbinder. In 1836, his name first appears in the Boston Directory as at 33 Garden Street. In 1839, he is listed as a bookbinder, with his house at the same place; and in 1840, with the same occupation, at 136 Washington Street. Later he became interested in the buying and selling of real estate, and for three years entered into a partnership with Samuel Rice under the name of Rice and Hassam, brokers in real estate. He then continued the work alone, and his success brought him into the care of trust property and the

management and settlement of estates. So it was natural on the part of his son, John Tyler, on his return from the front in August, 1864, to take up a profession for which his father's business would furnish a good foundation. He entered at once upon the study of law in the office of Ambrose A. Ranney, at 35 Court Street, boarding at his father's home No. 11 Indiana Place. Upon Mr. Hassam's admission to the Suffolk Bar, on December 13, 1867, he began the general practice of law at the same office and continued there until February 1, 1878, when he removed to No. 47 Court Street. He published in 1903 an interesting account of the latter building where he continued the practice of his profession until his death. But a large part of his career was devoted to the work of conveyancing, in which he gained a notable position at the Bar.

Mr. Hassam's constant recourse in his professional work to original records, and the difficulties in his way to obtain desired information, led him to realize the great importance of their care, preservation, and accessibility for public use. Beside his incessant labors in this direction during the remainder of his life, his studies, genealogical, historical, and antiquarian, gave him the needed recreation from his daily occupation. His election to membership in the New England Historic Genealogical Society on February 6, 1867, marked his early interest in genealogical research. The Society later honored him by electing him for many years a Director, then a Councillor, and from time to time placing him on various committees. In this direction his labors were fruitful. He published his accounts of the Hassam, Hilton, and Cheever families, in the *Register* of the Society, and then in various separate issues, with additions, and changes, from 1870 to 1903. The excellent work carried on in England by the late Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters of making "genealogical researches for the English ancestry of American families" was begun at his suggestion in 1880, supported by generous contributions from interested persons, and followed with the warmest interest by Mr. Hassam, who finally wrote the introduction to Mr. Waters' *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, in two volumes, published in 1901. The last major effort by Mr. Hassam for the Society was the inception and preparation of the Consolidated Index of the first fifty volumes of the *Register,* in charge of a committee appointed by the So-

ciety on February 3, 1896, of which he was chairman. Mr. Hassam did not live to see its completion and publication.

Mr. Hassam's daily labors led him to other lines of effort. Fourteen volumes of *Suffolk Deeds* (1629–1697) were prepared under his direction, and carefully indexed, twelve volumes of which were published before his death, and permission had already been given by the Board of Aldermen of the City of Boston to publish the thirteenth and fourteenth volumes which appeared after his death, in 1903 and 1906. This series was begun by a petition prepared by him, signed by lawyers and conveyancers, and presented on February 10, 1879, to the Board of Aldermen acting as the County Commissioners of Suffolk County. The threatened destruction of a large mass of early Suffolk Court files aroused Mr. Hassam and others, who were instrumental in causing steps to be taken for their preservation. These papers were arranged, bound, and carefully indexed under the direction of the late John Noble, Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, and the late William P. Upham.

Mr. Hassam, in the *Boston Evening Transcript* for January 24, 1883, called attention, to three "State House Matters," for which he urged that the Legislature should make some early and effective provision, to improve their condition for public use. He presented first the need of a suitable index to the Registration Returns, "classified according to towns and by Christian and surnames," as an important aid to the transaction of real estate business. He then urged the necessity of printing a volume which could contain an index of more than nine thousand changes in the names of persons in the Commonwealth to prevent "confusion and uncertainty . . . particularly when they affect the title to real estate." His third object in mind was the chaotic condition of the Massachusetts State Archives in the Secretary's department, which he claimed "are unequalled in all America" as "they contain valuable original state papers of the utmost importance to the historian and student of history, whether family, municipal or state." He called for steps to be taken to have these papers orderly arranged "conveniently for examination and reference," and to have a suitable index prepared to take the place of the "cumbersome and antiquated entry book, which masquerades in the covers of an index . . .

a survival of the Provincial period." Mr. Hassam followed these matters up in the Legislature of 1884, preparing and securing the passage of Resolve, Chapter 60 of the session of that year, providing for the appointment of a commission to examine and report as to the condition of the records, and files, papers, and documents in the State Department, preliminary to the adoption of a plan for making their contents more accessible for reference; and also Chapter 249 of the Acts of 1884, which provided for the publication of a volume on the changes of names from 1780 to 1883. The favorable report of the Commission led to years of work on the Archives, with some of the desired results; but there still remains the preparation of the index which Mr. Hassam desired, to give perfect access to all the state papers.

Mr. Hassam's ever increasing work of conveyancing required much of his time in the Registry of Deeds and Probate building which stood on Court Square at the rear of the Historical Society's building at Nos. 30 and 32 Tremont Street. Since the beginning of his practice in December, 1867, Mr. Hassam witnessed all the changes in these departments caused by the rapidly growing business of Suffolk County. Upon the completion of the Society's new building in 1872, the first and second stories, with an entrance at No. 32 Tremont Street, were leased by the City of Boston, and connected by a passageway with its Court Square building. In 1886, Mr. Hassam labored to secure the passage of the Act of that year to authorize the New Court House Commission to provide for suitable quarters in the new building to be constructed in Pemberton Square. The Probate files were taken from the old rooms at No. 32 Tremont Street to the new building in September, 1893; and the records of the Registry of Deeds were moved in September, 1894.

Five years before this time, in 1889, Mr. Hassam had called attention to the dangers to which public records were exposed and the proper method of preserving them, and the importance of his report led to its being reprinted in the First Report of the Commissioner of Public Records of the Commonwealth, and having the attention of the General Court called to it. He took the subject up again in January, 1894, when it was known that a part of the Probate files had been placed in the basement of

the New Court House and were alternately exposed to dampness and steam heat, both of which conditions were likely to cause serious injury. He, with Albert D. Bosson and George A. Sawyer, made a report urging their transfer to low modern stacks where there could be a free circulation of air above the papers, to assure their preservation.

The present system of Land Registration of titles, which simplifies the transfer of real estate, had its beginning in an article by Mr. Hassam which appeared in the *Boston Evening Transcript* for November 1, 1890, calling attention to the advantage of adopting the Australian Real Property Act. The immediate interest in the subject of Land Transfer reform found expression in the republication of this article in the *Harvard Law Review* for January, 1891, and the issue of a pamphlet on the subject under the auspices of the Land Transfer Reform League, of which he was for several years chairman of the executive committee.

As early as 1880, Mr. Hassam, in his pamphlet on *Boston Taverns*, spoke of the great labor in digging out the facts he needed as having been increased "a hundred fold by the imperfect system of indexing and recording deeds." He gave suggestions for a perfect indexing of such documents, which in a general way were later taken up. His appointment on the Board of Index Commissioners of the County, on April 5, 1884, gave the opportunity for the beginning of a system of indexing in the Suffolk Registries, which now makes them the best equipped in the Commonwealth.

Mr. Hassam's election to membership in the Historical Society in 1881 gave him great encouragement in the work nearest at heart, reform in the care and accessibility of manuscripts, and his historical studies. He communicated to the Society's *Proceedings*, a paper on the "Confiscated Estates of Boston Loyalists," in May, 1895; on the "Dunster Papers," in October following; on the "Early Recorders and Registers of Deeds for the County of Suffolk," 1639–1900, in May, 1898, and in March, 1900; on the "Bahama Islands," in March, 1899; and on the "Registers of Probate of the County of Suffolk," 1639–1799, in March, 1902. All of these papers showed careful and extensive research in the gathering of the historical facts.

Mr. Hassam was one of the original members of the Boston

Antiquarian Club which was merged on December 27, 1881, into the Bostonian Society, of which he was a corporate member in 1882, and one of its directors for nine years. He became a member of the Weymouth Historical Society on January 4, 1882; of the American Historical Association on November 12, 1884; of the Virginia Historical Society, Bunker Hill Monument Association; of the Bar Association of the City of Boston; and of the Abstract Club. The purpose of the last named Club is to encourage "the knowledge and practice of the law, and the exercise of good fellowship among conveyancers and other lawyers and the improvement of the laws of the Commonwealth," in all of which objects Mr. Hassam was in sympathy, though not active in the councils of the Club.

Mr. Hassam had schooled himself through all his years of assiduous labor to master and marshal the infinite details of his subjects with a clear purpose in view to accomplish some worthy results for the service of the public. Most of the reforms he had so clearly worked out in his mind came in course of time to their logical development; and the student of history today is greatly his debtor for whatever success attended his energetic efforts; but it is not to be wondered at that on occasion his steps provoked opposition, which time and different conditions only could satisfactorily overcome.

Mr. Hassam's widow and daughter Eleanor survived him.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the PRESIDENT, and the first VICE-PRESIDENT, the second VICE-PRESIDENT, Mr. RHODES, occupied the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported among the accessions:

The gift of twenty-eight volumes relating to the Netherlands, from the Committee of Historical Publications of Holland; of the gift of a collection of books formerly a part of the library of Thomas Shaw, of Portland, Maine, from his daughter, Miss Harriet C. Shaw, of Cambridge;[1] and the purchase of twelve volumes, containing Acts of Parliament, in black letter, fifty of Charles II, 1670–1678, two hundred and sixty-one of William III, and of Anne, 1695–1716, and eighty-four of George II and George III, 1758–1762, relating to English and American affairs.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Bradley Gilman, an engraving of Dwight Foster (1757–1823), of Brookfield, a representative and senator in the United States Congress from Massachusetts, made by Boudier, a French engraver and imitator of St. Memin in style and size of portrait plates, who was in this country for a short stay about the same time as St. Memin. This engraving bears the words "Boudier Fecit"; and there is said to be only one other of his plates known, that of Bonaparte, signed "Boudier, Sculpt, Phila."

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, a photograph of Juliana, the crown princess of Holland, daughter of Queen Wilhelmina, April, 1911, also five decorations intended to be used by the Germans, if victorious, on their return to the Fatherland, taken from a German storehouse at Metz, by a French general and given to the Committee on the Appeal for devastated France.

From Percy Bryant Baker, a signed photograph of his bust of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, 1919.

From Lawrence Park, a photograph of James Lawrence (1821–

[1] Among them is the *Poems* of George Bancroft, published in 1823.

1875, H. C. 1840) of Boston and Groton, son of Abbott and Katherine (Bigelow) Lawrence.

From the Merrymount Press, an engraving of the Custom House Tower from the Waterside, by R. Ruzicka, 1919.

From the Hopedale Welcome Home Committee, the Hopedale service medal.

From the town of Hamilton, the service medal of Hamilton.

From Cardinal O'Connell two medals struck in his honor when he was created Cardinal.

From Thomas Hibbard, a Virginia treasury note of May 15, 1862, and three pieces of United States fractional currency, July 17, 1862.

From Miss Harriet C. Shaw, three pieces of paper money of the American Revolution; four pieces of Confederate States paper money 1863, and 1864; three pieces of fractional currency, 1863, 1874; a 12½ cent bill, City of Augusta, Maine, July 17, 1837; a piece of Brazilian paper money; and ten coins.

From John W. Farwell, a gold twenty-five cent piece, California, 1853.

From Mr. Bowditch, a gold Mohur of Hindostan.

From Mr. Shaw, a three cent scrip of the Townsend Bank, of Brookline, N. H.

By deposit: from Miss Harriet C. Shaw, a lock of George Peabody's hair cut off on April 30, 1867, the day before he sailed for England; and a case of seven razors marked with the days of the week, with the addressed label inside in the handwriting of George Peabody, giving the case to Thomas Shaw, also containing a letter from the Sheffield firm of makers.

By exchange: thirty hard times pieces, three pieces of Bryan money, four encased stamps, one very rare Fugio piece, and a medal of the Prince Hall Lodge of Freemasons.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Edward Gray, of Milton, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Editor reported the following accessions:

By gift: from Charles T. Mason, of Watertown, the original commission issued April 5, 1653, to Hugh Mason, of the same place, to be Captain of a foot company, signed by John Endecott and Edward Rawson. Also a parchment leaf in the writing of Henry Adams, (1604–1676) recording the grants of land made to John Bowers by the town of Medfield, January 14, 1655–56.

From Henry Burt Alexander, of Lincolnia, Va., a roster of the

First Mass. Regiment, 2d Brigade and 7th Division of Militia, 1831–1835, William C. Plunkett being the Colonel, Rensselaer Solomons, Lieutenant-Colonel and George A. Lapham, Major.

By bequest: from Horace Parker Chandler, a framed engraving by — Closson of Oliver Wendell Holmes, with a letter, dated February 23, 1881, on "Dorothy Q."

On deposit: by the heirs of David Greenough, the lease for ninety-nine years of the land occupied by the Massachusetts General Hospital, dated April 1, 1817.

By Miss Harriet L. Shaw, protection issued to Thomas Merrill, Jr., June 4, 1804; letter of George Peabody, June 13, 1858; a facsimile of one from Queen Victoria to George Peabody, March 28, 1866, on her portrait and a grant of honors to him; and a record of a voyage from New York to Appalachicola, in the Bark *Lincoln*, F. A. Merrill, master, April 17 — June 12, 1856, and from Boston to Australia, in the Ship *Chasca*, the same master, August 7, 1856 — July 4, 1857.

By purchase: about two hundred letters to and from Martin Van Buren, containing political and social letters from Aaron Burr, Pierre van Cortlandt, Benjamin F. Butler, Andrew Jackson, Edward Everett, Daniel Webster, Jesse Hoyt, Rufus King, Thomas Jefferson, John Howard Payne, Morgan Lewis, Lord Palmerston, James K. Polk, James Buchanan, Henry Clay, J. K. Paulding, H. D. Gilpin and F. P. Blair. They are excellent examples of the correspondence and interests of this masterly politician.

From H. Stoddard Ruggles of Wakefield, a photostat reproduction of leaves of a diary of Captain John Burk, describing service at Crown Point in 1755, in the Massachusetts regiment commanded by Col. Timothy Ruggles.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced the death of Rev. Henry Fitch Jenks, a Resident Member, and, speaking of his connection with the society said:

Rev. Henry Fitch Jenks died on January 31, 1920.

He was elected a Resident Member of the Society on February 10, 1881, and was a constant attendant at the meetings until the close of the year 1903, missing only six meetings during this period of twenty-three years. Protracted illness afterward prevented his presence, and also his active participation in the work of the Society, except that during the years 1908 to 1912 he felt well enough to come to most of the meetings, that of December, 1912, being his last.

Mr. Jenks was a Member at Large of the Council from 1891–1894, and the Cabinet-Keeper of the Society from 1898 to 1904, when illness made his retirement necessary. His special interest in the Cabinet was shown in his report for the Committee to examine the Library and Cabinet in April, 1889.

He served on several publishing committees of volumes of the Collections, and from time to time communicated papers for the Proceedings. His last official act was signing the Memorial of the Society to Congress to preserve the frigate *Constitution*. His interest in the Society found expression often in his brief remarks at meetings, and in many gifts to the Library, while his special effort was in encouraging additions to the Society's Cabinet.

Dr. J. C. WARREN then said:

Mr. Jenks was a classmate of mine in college and I had already known him as a Boston Latin School boy; but we were never on terms of intimacy. So although I have been acquainted with him for a very long period of time I am not in a position to analyze some of his salient traits of character. Therefore I think it better to read some of the following extracts from the report of the Class of 1863, of which he was a member. In this way the man will speak for himself, which he does in a very modest and unassuming way. Through the courtesy of Mr. Clarence H. Denny, our class secretary, I have obtained some of the following data.

Mr. Jenks belonged to the studious section of the class as his record shows fairly well. It should be remembered that at that time rank did not depend wholly on scholarship but was affected by certain penalties in the way of "deductions" for infringement of college rules. His retiring disposition and a certain temperamental reserve seems to have disinclined him to participating in the college society life of that period. His rank was, freshman year, number 23, eighty-one percent; sophomore year, number 39, sixty-seven percent; junior year, number 32, seventy-three percent; and senior year, number 30.[1] His part at Commencement was an essay, "The Fauna and Flora of Australia." He belonged while in college to the Rumford Society and the Christian Union, and in 1877 was made an honorary member

[1] Of a class of 120.

of the Phi Beta Kappa. He received a "Detur" in his sophomore year, and a second prize for reading in 1863. He was made a member of the Class Committee on July 19, 1865, but resigned from the committee on June 20, 1912. His chum was Henry Tuck who studied medicine and later held high office in one of the great national life insurance companies.

After leaving college he seems to have become more active in society work and developed a capacity for executive talent in various organizations and on numerous committees, when much useful public service was accomplished. At the time of the death of Arthur Lincoln, secretary of the Class of 1863, he volunteered promptly to assume the duties of that office and served for several years, to the great satisfaction of his classmates, until his retirement from all work on account of ill health. In his "Life" in the class book written by himself he says:

Having been brought up with the expectation that I would become a minister, it has been an understood fact to which I looked forward ever since I can remember, that I should come to college. . . . My course in college has not been notable in any way. I have never been distinguished for my neglect of my duties, or for any special excellence in their performance. . . .

On the 6th of March, 1859, I became a member of the Church in Brattle Square (Unitarian), Boston, of which Rev. S. K. Lothrop, D.D. (H. C. 1825) is pastor. Since 1860 I have had a class in the Sunday School connected with that church. . . .

I have never yet been able to find any one thing for which I had any peculiar taste or inclination, but during the last three or four years that I was at the Latin School I took a great fancy for printing, and my father gave me a room at home for the purpose. I had, in connection with a friend, quite a well appointed printing-office where we did considerable work which we thought very creditable to us.

As I have had no difficulties in getting my education, having only to make use of the advantages which were put in my way, and as most of my life has been spent in one place, it has been quite barren of incident, and for the most part just what would be naturally expected to fall to the lot of any one similarly circumstanced. . . .

My father was the fourth son of Rev. William Jenks, D.D., LL.D. (H. C. 1797) and Betsy (Russell) Jenks. He was a member of the firm of Jenks and Palmer, booksellers and publishers.

Mr. NORCROSS also spoke on Mr. Jenks and his services to the Society.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced the death of Edward Henry Clement, a Resident Member, and gave his connection with the Society. He called upon Mr. FORD who read as follows:

Born in Chelsea Mr. Clement was of Massachusetts origin, though his family seem to have belonged to Claremont, New Hampshire. His parents lost a child of the same name in 1842, aged one year and some months, and a year after the subject of this sketch was born — April 19, 1843. He had two brothers in the Union army — Andrew J. and William B., of whom he spoke in his paper on the first battle of Bull Run.[1] Mr. Clement graduated at Tufts College in 1864 and touched by the spirit of adventure and perhaps by that of the reformer, he went in 1865 to Savannah, Georgia, to be the editor of the *Savannah Morning News*, a daily paper, originally established in 1850 by William T. Thompson, an ante-bellum humorist, whose *Major Jones's Courtship* (1844), *Major Jones's Sketches of Travel* (1848) and *Major Jones's Scenes in Georgia* (1858) had no little vogue in their day. Two Union soldiers took possession of the office and material, invited Mr. Clement to be the editor, and launched into a campaign of education — something the South did not want from such hands. Carpet-bag editors were as unwelcome after the war as carpet-bag politicians, for the one thing the South desired was to be allowed to work out its own salvation. With Sumner, Stevens, and Wade in control no New Englander could be welcome anywhere in the South, and Georgia had cause still to feel Sherman's march. For two years Mr. Clement remained on this thankless and wearisome duty and then returned to Boston, where he had employment on some journals without forming a permanent connection with any one.

He went to New York in 1867 and for nearly two years was night editor of the *New York Tribune* when John Russell Young was of influence, a somewhat useful but not very desirable model to follow. For Young had an extraordinary facility of language rather than a supply of suggestion — ideas would be too strong a word. Greeley was more interested in telling what

[1] *Proceedings*, XLII. 181.

he knew about farming, and Whitelaw Reid, joining the editorial board at this time, had not yet become the dominating factor. From 1869 to 1875 Mr. Clement tried journalism in New Jersey, but in the latter year he was invited by William A. Hovey to come to the *Boston Transcript* and for twenty-five years, 1881–1906, he was its editor-in-chief. In that time he saw the newspaper grow into its present size from an eight-page paper and a modest quantity of news and literature.

There was in him something more than New England, for his experiences in Southern and New York journalism broadened his point of view. He had something of the reformer, something of the poet, and something of the artist, for he wrote verse and practised painting, but none of these affected his journalistic habit, for by long usage habit it had become. In these days of the anonymous editorial it is difficult to create the feeling of influence, such as the older newspaper men exerted, and the reader is more conscious of an office than of a personality. In fact, I cannot believe that the editorial is read, if read at all, from a desire to be instructed or to be quickened, but from a sense of being supported in our existing opinion. In the columns of "The Listener," appearing twice a week, Mr. Clement reached a wider audience than he could have done as a leader writer. As editor he made mistakes, for even a journalist can commit serious errors of omission and commission.

I have spoken of him as something of a reformer, but this tendency was never strong enough to overturn his instinct of conservatism. He was an anti-imperialist, but the question never came to be prominent in national politics and was an infection local to Massachusetts. He would not have left party lines, because that form of political expression, however wholesome as symptomatic of abuses, is apt to be spasmodic and temporary. But he was active in many ways and was an earnest worker in many causes, notably those of anti-vivisection and the Armenians. His colleagues dwell upon his idealism, but it was one wanting in the force and concentrated energy of the true fanatic. His exposition was intended to persuade rather than to impose a conviction, and with a ready pen he rather pointed towards a compromise of opinion than enforced an unalterable opinion of his own. He would have been out of place anywhere but in Boston; it is difficult to imagine him on

any other paper than the *Boston Transcript*. To him we owe the revival of the name of St. Botolph, applied to a club from which St. Botolph would in all probability have been rigidly excluded.

The VICE-PRESIDENT, remarking that this meeting of the Society is held on the anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, read from the *Proceedings* of the Society, at the meeting on April 20, 1865, the tribute paid to Lincoln by the President, Robert C. Winthrop.

Mr. AGASSIZ read a paper on

THE REAL FRANKENSTEIN.

You can tell a man's outlook on life by his attitude toward oysters. If he is an optimist he will look for pearls; if a pessimist he will fear ptomaine. Henry Adams has said that if you probe deeply enough into the mind of the contemporary philosopher or man of science you will probably incline to the conclusion, from the sub-current of his thought, that he must look on Schopenhauer as an optimist. Has the historian any better prospect of finding pearls in his oyster stew? The man of science, the philosopher and the historian must all alike face the fact that the accumulation of human knowledge leads us to the recognition that we are living on a dying planet, that the ultimate fate of humanity on this earth is annihilation.

One of the most recent discoveries of astronomy is that the globular clusters of stars all lie at such tremendous distances, that each of them is far outside and beyond the huge cluster of stars that we call our universe; that each forms a galaxy of its own in the remote and otherwise empty regions of space. One of the nearest of these other universes, the great cluster in Hercules, is approaching us at the rate of some 150 miles a second. But that need not alarm us, it will not reach the outer limits of our universe for some fifty million years. Long before that the Earth will be as dead and as unfit for human habitation as the moon. Truly "we are such stuff as dreams are made on, and our little life is rounded with a sleep."

The historian is fortunate in that his preoccupation is with the past. But I need not remind you, whose business or avoca-

tion is looking backwards, that this is the least unsatisfactory method of attempting to see ahead.

Is not the historian, therefore, the most competent person to guess at the future pages of history? Given like conditions man will invariably react in the same way. Whenever he reaches a certain stage of civilization he will always do the same thing. He has apparently invented the bow and arrow independently in half a dozen different parts of the world whenever he was ready for it. When civilization has become too burdensome and complex, it has broken down. It has done so at least twice in the Mediterranean basin, and the archæologist gives us glimpses of the collapse there of other civilizations that we know not of.

Babylon, Thebes, Athens, and Rome have all fallen. Why should we expect immunity for London, Paris and New York; to say nothing of Berlin and Vienna? Such speculations may not seem as utterly fantastic today as they would have appeared a few years ago. Had a Roman Senator been told that the Empire would fall, and the Latin language become extinct, he would have regarded his prophet as a harmless lunatic.

In the past, new civilizations have sprung up from the virile blood that the conquering barbarian has poured on the ruins that he found, and made. Where shall we find such blood today? Surely not in the Eastside Jew, the parlor Bolshevist, or the proletarian. It may be that the hope of the world lies in the East. Do recent events in China still permit us to say that hers is the only civilization that has endured? It is hard for us to realize how untinged with the heritage of the West is the life of the Celestial Kingdom. An educated mandarin who once held a professorship of Chinese at Harvard, confessed that before coming to this country he had never heard of Rome, Athens, or Jerusalem!

Is our civilization as it stands worth preserving? We breathe the word civilization and shout progress, as if we were dealing with the mystic symbols of the anointed. What! shall the infidel attempt to force his way into the shrines of the holy! But toward what goal are we shouting progress? Galsworthy wonders how we will avoid falling into the trombone we are blowing so loudly, and Carlyle said that he would be an ardent

advocate of civilization, if any one could show him that it had ever made a single bootblack happier.

Think how much of our civilization consists in attempting to get rid of one evil by devising another. We are like a child with a great piece of soft molasses candy, which it keeps pulling from one hand to the other, becoming constantly more sticky in the process. But I will not dwell on this aspect of our troubles.

We apply our science by prostituting it for the perfection of the ghastliness of war. The untutored savage orders his life more intelligently than that. Shortly before Stanley cut a swathe through Congo-Land, and blazed the way for opening up the country to all the delights of civilization, as exemplified in the exploitation of the natives in the rubber trade — shortly before this, the chiefs of those parts held a Hague Conference of their own, decided that the bow and arrow was a murderous weapon, and abolished it as an implement of war.

In the dim past we inherited from our inarticulate ancestors a beautiful world; we are making it a utilitarian wilderness. Is it worth while to destroy our forests, that we may have the so-called comic supplement of our Sunday papers? Is it worth while to ruin our waterfalls, that we may blot out the light of the stars with some flaming monstrosity advertising the product of the enterprising maker of a half-digested food? Our modern life is saturated with such examples.

We are ruining our birthright for a mess of pottage. Everywhere we are scarring the fair face of nature with the hideous contrivances of our handiwork. We have smeared our smiling valleys, and polluted our streams, with the grime of our countless factory towns, whose chimneys belch forth smoke and poisonous gases in such volumes that the air, at no comparatively great distance of time, will be unfit for human respiration; while we are planning to rob the atmosphere of its nitrogen on a scale that will eventually leave us a prey to spontaneous combustion.

It is not however, on precisely such phases of our civilization that I wish more specially to speak.

The historian is hampered in forming any intelligent estimate of the future trend of history, if you will pardon the Hibernicism, by the fact that, like Frankenstein, we are confronted with a monster of our own making, that has no parallel in history. If

one man, more than another, is responsible for the growth of the Juggernaut that we worship, but which some of us are beginning to look on with suspicion and distrust, it is James Watt. Could his mother have prevented the boy from dreaming over the antics of her steaming kettle, she would deserve a high place among the benefactors of mankind.

Our modern industrial life dates from the application of the steam engine to the productive activities of man; and the tremendous stimulus it gave to the introduction of machinery into his daily work is at length threatening to strangle him in the mechanism in which he has entangled himself.

The monster that we have created is a machine-ridden land, that has us all in its grasp; whose tentacles reach into the innermost corners of our lives, and which holds our less fortunate fellow beings, in our myriad factories, in a bondage more appalling than any dreamt of in Greece or Rome. If the choice were forced upon you, would you hesitate a moment between the life of a Greek Helot, and the stoke-hole of an ocean steamer?

Columbus, setting forth on an unknown sea, found a new world. The intrepid aviator, yearning for a like adventure, has nowhere to go. His mission is to reduce the ends of the world to one dead level of mechanical complexity.

Surely Nature never intended man for a mere appendage to a machine. The essential requisites of his healthy existence are an open-air life, and a joy and pride in his work.

A few men, now past their middle age, have wandered in a country where they could build pictures of their own lands, such as they were before the days of modern industrialism. In Japan, before the influence of the West had spread its pall over the land, the intelligent traveller might see on all sides the happy artisan delighting in the joy of his work, which inheritance from his ancestors had transformed into an art.

Our mechanical industrial life has produced the festering sores of the slums of our great cities, where masses of humanity lie gasping, huddled together "in the sordid dens of . . . of the crowded warrens of the poor." The subdivision of labor, by the mechanical devices of the modern factory, is constantly reducing man's work to a smaller and still smaller process. This results in his taking less and less interest and responsibility in the completion of the whole; and not only brutalizes

him by subjugating him to be a mere routine feeder of a machine, it robs him of joy and pride in his work. If you do not believe this, go to the next meeting of workingmen, and talk to them of the satisfaction and solace of labor. You will be received with jeers as an ignorant fanatic. The one idea of the worker today is to do as little labor as possible. And who can blame him for such an attitude? Modern life is pinning him down to an ever-increasing monotony of toil, such as was never before known in the history of the world. The skilled craftsman could find some satisfaction in making a pair of shoes by hand. No sane man can find any alleviation in the constant repetition of a few mechanical gestures which guide a machine that drives the nails into the heel. Is it not such conditions as these that have led to the rumblings of the social volcano that we all feel trembling beneath us?

My guess is as good as the next man's. If the situation lies in our hands, unless it is handled with more intelligence than is at present visible, man will, in desperation, smash the civilization he has made, but does not fit.

With one hand we are endeavoring to educate the people for a broader and fuller life; with the other we are chaining them down in an ever-increasing gloom, to a life of monotony and mechanism. Who but a maniac would expect anything but disaster from such a process?

If modern thought leads to such conclusions as are sketched in my opening paragraphs, is that any reason why mankind should prepare to live out the little span of its life in bedlam?

It is far easier to find the sore than to suggest the remedy. Fantastic as were the dreams of Rousseau, they contained one fundamental truth. Nature is bigger than man; in any contest with her, he will always emerge defeated. If, with Sidney Carton, we are to see "the evils of this time, and of the previous time, of which this is the natural birth, gradually making expiation for itself, and wearing out." Man must cease forging the chains with which he is fettering himself. Somehow he must strike them off. Somehow he must get down to the deep realities of life, sift the chaff from the wheat, the unessential from the essential, wake up and realize that the blind worship of the golden calf leads nowhere, that an ounce of health and happiness is worth tons of material prosperity. He

must learn to know that his salvation does not rest in aimless complexities, but in calmer and less complicated surroundings, where in a simpler, freer and more healthy life, he will live in sympathy with Nature, and in harmony with her laws.

Mr. THAYER read an amusing account of a visit of ceremony he made when a young man upon James Russell Lowell, when Leslie Stephen also was present.

Mr. FORD spoke on the incident in the career of Jonathan Russell which brought him into opposition with John Quincy Adams, produced Adams' *Duplicate Letters* and led to Russell's retirement from public life.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. THAYER and WENDELL.

MEMOIR

OF

HENRY LEE HIGGINSON

By JOHN T. MORSE, Jr.

During the two earlier generations of the past century in Boston a group of the Lee, Lowell, Jackson, Cabot and Higginson families maintained a strong solidarity. They had a way of marrying each other, and besides matrimonial enlacements they kept a close social intimacy, liking even in their dwellings to cluster in neighborhood. The Higginsons were of intellectual tastes, respected, content to lead quiet, unobtrusive lives, but prone to advanced ideas, which they maintained with courage and independence. The Jacksons, with excellent brains, were chiefly noted for an astonishing sweetness of temper, and an intense desire to work exceedingly hard, but were seriously handicapped by their virtues and over-developed consciences. When Patrick Jackson died, Col. T. Handasyd Perkins "shut himself up in his room; for never lived three such men as the Judge, the Doctor and Patrick." The Lees brought different qualities, being a virile, energetic race, not incapable of roughness, enterprising, good merchants, generally successful getters of money, with a tendency towards usefulness in public affairs, impetuous and outspoken withal, so that commonplace people alleged them to be "almost eccentric." The Cabots — but how give an idea of that various clan! *Quot homines, tot sententiae.* Each one had his own special views, traits, qualities, temperament, purposes, gloriously independent of all the rest of the world; many of them were intellectual and cultivated, often highly so, in literature, art and music, of liberal ideas, able men of affairs, and generally with an aptitude for acquiring money,

though only in sporadic cases showing any inordinate taste for hard work. No Lowell blood, I believe, ran in Henry Higginson's veins, the connection being by marriage from which he was not descended. His father, George Higginson, was beloved and respected by every one; a warm-hearted, impulsive man, generous even beyond prudence, with a sense of personal honor so romantic that in one matter it actually brought criticism upon him. Though short of stature, he was remarkably muscular, with such long arms as made Rob Roy the most redoubtable man in the Scotch Highlands. From him Henry got his splendid physical strength. Mrs. Higginson (Mary Lee) upon her mother's side a Jackson, had a temper and disposition of notable sweetness, but unfortunately had delicate health. The writer can remember her, ill and feeble, lying on the sofa, while a noisy rout of boys frolicked through the house, and she all the while smiled gently, making no plea for quiet. She died while the children were still young.

Such were the characteristics which came into the making of Henry Lee Higginson, and they are dwelt upon at such length because nearly all these component elements became distinctly noticeable in him, and in a measure not often encountered in studies of heredity. It seems almost like making up a man by a chemical formula from component qualities, moral, mental, temperamental, all furnished by his forbears. Further, the inference suggests itself that this fact may not improbably have been an occult influence tending to give rise in him to his very marked regard for the ties of blood and kinship. Numerically it was an extensive family connection that surrounded him, but over all its members his interest and his sense of relationship spread. Each and all could depend upon him not only for friendly words but for acts of substantial kindness in time of need. This strong loyalty was an attractive trait, and not altogether without reward too, since it secured for him an influential band of devoted adherents.

But it is time to extricate ourselves from these too enticing speculations as to heredity, and to get Henry Higginson born. This practical event occurred on November 18, 1834, in New York City. He was the second of five children, George, Henry, James, Mary and Frank. The residence in New York was soon abandoned, and the household came back to Boston and es-

tablished itself in Bedford Place, in the centre of a colony of relations. Boyhood passed like all boyhoods in those days — a routine of marbles, tag, and spelling books, developing into football, skating, and the Latin Reader, with the customary delivery over into Harvard College. The entry into this institution, then of "the humanities," was effected in the spring of 1851; but Henry Higginson's stay there was not long protracted. Weak eyes interfered with study, and he did not quite finish the Freshman year. The sole tradition extant relates not to scholarship, but to the noteworthy prowess of the vigorous youngster in the famous "football fight," properly so called, which recurred annually on "Bloody Monday night," being the early evening of the first Monday in September. In this desperate fray it would seem that "Bully Higg" won laurels which to his young contemporaries seemed imperishable, and which in fact did survive longer than some more useful greenery.

After leaving Harvard, Henry Higginson made a trip to Europe; returned and did some desultory studying with the idea of rejoining his class; abandoned this purpose and passed some eighteen months or so in the house of Samuel and Edward Austin, peeping a little into the business of foreign commerce. Leaving this occupation in the autumn of 1856, he again went abroad with Stephen Perkins and Powell Mason, and later joined Charles Lowell and John Bancroft. With these friends he travelled and had joyous and not unimproving days until in the fall of 1857 he went to Vienna and entered then and there into the seriousness of life. It was his purpose to make music the practical occupation of his life, and to this he devoted three winters of earnest labor. He took lessons from Eppstein, later Professor at the Vienna Conservatory, and studied composition with Ruffinatscha. He wrote to his father:

> My position here is very pleasant. I am most kindly received in houses worth visiting, and have friends worthy of the name. I am fairly in the best circle of musicians in Vienna and am befriended of many of them. . . . I live with a very genial and bright man who is second as pianist to very few people in the world. He is by all odds the first here, not by his brilliancy (of which he has enough) but by the warmth, the heart and the understanding of his play. . . . Remember that I enjoy, in the depths of my soul, music as nothing else, and you'll easily comprehend my stay.

Meantime the practical gentlemen of Boston, merchants and manufacturers, and his numerous relatives were shaking their heads not approvingly: "Pity that young Higginson should be wasting his time and his money in Germany, learning to fiddle! Bye and bye he will come home, and what will he be good for?" To give three years to studying music was a hardly pardonable idiosyncracy in the view of these descendants of the Pilgrims and Puritans. Henry Higginson, however, thought quite otherwise, and with wonted independence, he followed his own convictions. It was a cruel disappointment when his long persistent apprenticeship forced him at last to the conclusion that success was beyond his reach. He said that he had failed in the special thing which he had most at heart. For a while then he wandered in Europe thinking over the situation. "I must find something to do," he wrote to his father, "or I shall go into the insane asylum. I'd not live at home without employment for any possible reward." In the autumn of 1860 he came home, still undecided, still seeking the answer to the query "what he was good for."

His comrades also were puzzling themselves over the like conundrums in their own several cases. They were not triflers; they consulted together about life and its possibilities, they had undefined hopes, often high ambitions, but as yet uncertain purposes. Stephen Perkins wrote to Higginson: "I wonder whether we shall go on constantly expecting life to unfold itself, and the great possibilities to appear in us and outside of us until we are surprised that death has come to us, when we hardly seem to ourselves to have lived." Charles Lowell said: "My ambition now is to be able to toil terribly! — like Sir Walter Raleigh. Let me but get and keep this and I may yet do something. I want to know something still, but don't know yet what I want to know."

But while they pondered the world moved and the spring of 1861 brought to them all a curt solution of the question of what they should do. Already prior to the winter of 1860–61 a portion of the entourage of Higginson had been of anti-slavery leanings; and apart from this he had done his own thinking in the matter. So early as 1854 the return of the escaped slave, Anthony Burns, to his Southern owners took place in Boston. Charles Lowell and Henry Higginson with youthful ardor

sought an audience with the judge, which was properly refused to them. They then went with the crowd to the wharf and saw the negro put on board the U. S. revenue cutter. "Charley, it will come to us to set this thing right," said Henry; and now in that winter of 1860–61 he saw plainly that the expected duty was close at hand. He talked it over with James Savage, his near and dear friend. "I shall not go," said Savage. "I shall go," said Henry Higginson, and says that he marvelled at the attitude of Savage, which he failed to understand. Then the hour struck, and troops were called for, and Savage and Higginson were among the earliest to offer their services. On May 21 Savage had a Captain's commission in the Second Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, and Higginson had a lieutenancy in the same company. Together they went to Fitchburg to recruit men, and soon the regiment, nearly full, went into camp at Brook Farm. In the same regiment went also Stephen Perkins, another intimate friend of Henry Higginson, and Greely S. Curtis with whom he afterward lived as tent mate in the field for a long time. The two men became closely attached to each other, and certainly the canvas covered no better regimental officers in the Northern army — stalwart warriors both, of ready intelligence, abounding courage, with a natural capacity for command, and in this cause deeply in earnest. Duties at Brook Farm were somewhat bewildering; for the officers had to teach what they themselves were only learning — drill and the routine, discipline and hygiene of camp life; but hard work good will and quick intelligence counted for much and it was a fact that the second Regiment held exceptional material alike in the commissioned officers and in the ranks; also it was well understood by them that thorough discipline was the fundamental essential. On July 8, 1861, an intensely hot day, the regiment left Boston going first to Harper's Ferry and later to Maryland Heights. Many trying and vexatious months ensued, a period of picket duty, special little errands hither and yon, with none of the romance of war and plenty of its discomfort, such as unwholesome food, rain and mud, with "fearful heat and dampness," and "considerable sickness among men and officers," "pretty rough work." "These things are the trials beside which the hardest fighting is nothing." Sometimes the men became mutinous. But the officers

stood resolutely to their theory of discipline. "If we can say to our men, 'Do this,' and they do it without hesitation; we can thrash any one. If we can say 'Charge bayonets' and 'Forward,' what regiment in the South can stand before us? . . . That is what we want, soldiers who will do anything, fight anybody and go anywhere. . . . In active and perfect obedience lies the secret of good soldiers." Persistence bore fruit; and Higginson wrote: "Daily we see more order and discipline," and "our regiment is in this respect much above the large proportion of volunteer regiments." It became in fact very nearly, if not quite, the "crack" regiment of the volunteer army. But what these young officers largely pined for was fighting. "We shall *never* see the enemy!" wrote Henry Higginson despairingly. Nor indeed did the regiment see the enemy until after Henry Higginson and Curtis had left it. Then it had its initiation day at Cedar Mountain, and a bloody day it was, with terrible carnage among officers and men; but the men stood like seasoned veterans, and Curtis and Higginson listened with keen interest and high pride to the account of results so largely due to their pains and patience. The fight was a "stupid" blunder, Henry Higginson always bitterly said; it did honor to the regiment to which he felt natural attachment, but it lost him inexcusably his two dear friends, Savage and Perkins. It was the story, too familiar in our military annals, of a superb rank and file, with first-rate regimental officers, and melancholy incapacity "higher up."

That Curtis and Higginson themselves escaped this holocaust was due to the fact that in the autumn of 1861 they had been transferred to the First Regiment of Mass. Volunteer Cavalry, then forming. In this Henry Higginson was given the Captaincy of Company A. Cavalry played an important role in Virginia, and for a long while the Confederates far excelled the Northerners in this arm of the service. It is immeasurably more difficult to make a good cavalry than a good infantry regiment; and while half-fit infantry may by lucky chance sometimes do some good, half-fit cavalry is substantially sure to be worse than nothing. In its home State high hopes and stern purposes were centred in this First Mass. Cavalry. By it Massachusetts assumed the task of proving to the North that first-rate mounted troops could be put into the field. Bound

to achieve her purpose, she selected her best men and plainly laid upon them an especial charge to make good. Liberal time was given them for training at Readville, and in February, 1862, they left for Hilton Head. Henry Higginson wrote: "We are getting on slowly but surely. One must look at each little thing, and I'm never sure that everything is as it should be unless I've seen it done." "It is a good deal harder work than in the 2nd Regiment; the turning from men to horses and horses to men gives us plenty to do, and could it be well done, it would be a great pleasure." It was "well done." There were no neglected, ungroomed horses in this regiment, neither were they fed with their bits in their mouths, after the slovenly fashion in some squadrons. But the army commanders, still distrustful of cavalry, gave them scant consideration, leaving them without shelter tents or proper clothing, with toasted corn and apples as their chief diet.

In the spring of 1862 Higginson was promoted to the rank of Major with command of a battalion. In June Stephen Perkins wrote to him: "Your letter has come, reflecting my complaints for blood and action." Perkins had not long to wait, poor fellow, but Higginson had. The regiment was moved about vaguely month after month and not much use was made of it, though under General Averell and later under General Pleasanton it gave good proof of its efficiency in sundry clashes with the famous troopers of J. E. B. Stuart and Mosby. At Beverly Ford they captured Stuart's despatch box, and they won a sharp encounter at Brandy Station, on June 9, 1863. They were present, but not seriously used, at Antietam and Fredericksburg. On May 6 Henry Higginson wrote from Fredericksburg: "Hard work is healthy for me. Just now we are waiting for the enemy to retreat. Gen. Hooker and Gen. Lee will provide for a good many of us before May is passed." On June 16, again: "We are going to have a very severe campaign, I suppose, but we are all pleased and in excellent spirits." The very next day came the fight at Aldie, from which he emerged alive, but very badly wounded.

The Regiment was in the Division of General Gregg, under immediate command of General Kilpatrick. Henry Higginson with a squadron was sent forward by Colonel Curtis to check the Confederate cavalry. There were charges on both

sides, encounters, advances, and fallings back. In the midst of it, said Higginson:

> I was knocked off my horse while striking a man with my sabre, and probably my face was cut then. [He bore the scar, a deep and long one, yet not disfiguring, all his life.] While on the ground he struck me over the head, inflicting a slight wound. I don't remember how I got the bullet wound in the back. It was a rough and tumble fight during which I got several wounds. I don't remember the details distinctly, but I think that while on the ground I was shot at with a pistol which did not go off. Some of the rebels took my field glass and pistol. Something was said about making me prisoner, but I said I should soon die, and they left me. While they were not looking I pulled off my shoulder straps, that being the only distinguishing mark between me and a private.

There was great dread among our men of being taken prisoners, and undergoing the horrors of Libby or Andersonville, and wounded officers were more likely to be taken off the field than were privates. The rebels also took away Higginson's gray horse, which had received four bullet wounds, but later was retaken, and "became a very serviceable horse."

After the engagement was over and the combatants on both sides had withdrawn, Higginson made efforts to get back to our lines. "I stopped now and then," he said, "took out my diary to make a memo. or two and to say Goodbye to my father; drank some water out of a brook, and somehow got through a fence, and through the woods and across the fields, limping, crawling and walking as best I could, until I reached the spot where the fight began, and I found some of our men." The "regimental surgeon patched me up." Then came the painful journey "in an ambulance over a rough road to Centreville and thence by freight cars to Alexandria." "On a straw mattress, in the hollow of which I lay without being able to stir, resting on my face and one shoulder, hardly able to open my mouth to eat anything;" — thus he made the journey to Washington, where at last he found himself in a hospital and under the care of Miss Anna Lowell, the sister of his friend Charles Lowell. Later he got back to Boston. His wound was both serious and very painful, and his recovery was slow. Even for a long while after he was able to walk, he was not able to sit, and it was only after much probing that Dr. Samuel Cabot

succeeded in extracting the bullet from the lower part of his spine. He was eager to get back to the service, but not until July, 1864, was he able to be "off again for the war," and even then in defiance of medical as well as friendly advice. Being not quite well enough yet for regimental service, he took for the time being a position on the staff of his friend Gen. Francis Barlow, a very able man, distinctly a fighter, at the time commanding a brigade in front of Petersburg. With him Higginson could expect hot work, and saw some; but, as he had been forwarned, he found himself so far from fit for campaigning, that he had to give up. Barlow had a short furlough and the two came back to Washington together. There Higginson tried to get employment in the Reserve Corps, but failing in this, he resigned and received honorable discharge from the service in September, 1864, bitterly regretting that he could not stay to the end, then appearing in sight.[1]

[1] The following pleasant anecdote is furnished by Mrs. Higginson:

Some years ago, when Mr. Higginson and I were in Washington (I have forgotten the exact date) I asked him to take me to Aldie and show me the ground where the battle was fought — it was really not a battle but an active skirmish fight — where Mr. Higginson was wounded, which was the 17th of June, 1863. We went first by rail to Leesburg and there we hired a mule team and open wagon and drove to Aldie. The wagon could n't go as far as the battlefield itself, so we left it by the roadside and walked. As we approached the field we saw a man plowing, who said: "Hello, friends, you come to see where we beat you Yankees at the Battle of Aldie." (He was a pleasant-looking farmer, I should say about 12 or 15 years younger than Mr. Higginson was at that time.) Evidently he was an ex-confederate. We said: "Yes, we came to see it and to look the place over." Upon which he replied: "Well, I remember all about it myself. I was about a dozen years old and I heard the fighting from my house which is over there" — pointing to a farmhouse at no great distance — "and when the fighting had stopped my mother said 'I want you to go with this pail of water and give a drink to all the men you find left there, no matter whether they are Federalists or Confederates. There is a Federal Major there who has been badly wounded and a Captain and other wounded men, and I want you to look after all of them' — so I went. There were one or two wounded men, but I could n't find the Major. I looked everywhere for him, asked a few men who were left if they knew anything about him, but they said they did n't. They believed that in some way he must have managed to get back to camp, although wounded. Well, the long and short of it is that I could n't find him anywhere — he got away." Upon which, my husband laughed and said, "Yes, you are right; he did get away. I am the Major." The man laughed heartily, held out his hand and said: "Well, Major, I am glad to see you. At least, it is all right now." We walked over the whole place, Mr. Higginson explaining to me in detail just all the action of the fight. We saw the monument which had been erected on the spot, giving the names of the men engaged in the fight; also, names of pris-

The war cost Henry Higginson dear in friends lost. Notably there were Savage, Stephen Perkins, Charles Lowell, and Robert G. Shaw. For him the memory of these men never faded. To his latest years he frequently referred to them with a still fresh and ardent affection. One is tempted to use a slang phrase, though it profanes a sacred subject, and to say that friendship was a specialty with Henry Higginson. His friendships were many and were not only warm but singularly enduring. With most of us, A and B may be our best friends in one stage of life, then neighborhood, occupations, interests change and in this new environment C and D come into the present while A and B glide gently into the past; some of us live to get far down in the alphabet. Not so with Henry Higginson. He was constant in such a relationship; sometimes adding a new friend, never dropping an old one. Always the company which he kept was good evidence in Higginson's behalf. In 1853 Stephen Perkins wrote to him: "The only set worth belonging to is that of the best fellows." To names already mentioned, let us add Alexander Agassiz, Gen. Charles Jackson Paine, James Lowell, and Col. Henry S. Russell (and I fear that I forgot some) and we have most of the set of "best fellows" with whom Henry Higginson came through youth and advanced into active life. They were neither the "fast" nor the "smart," nor the fashionable, nor the "sporty" set, nor the "pious men," nor the "digs," nor the prigs — only simply the really "best fellows." They started in life with all the abundant exuberance of youngsters, taking their full share of cakes and ale and all manner of joyousness; they had brains and they studied much and read more, and talked often seriously enough, had ambition and high purpose and the intent to labor usefully and the resolve, while absorbing the pleasure of life, to meet also the duties which

oners and the wounded men, among which were Mr. Higginson's own brother Capt. James J. Higginson, and his own name — as having been badly wounded. It was a lovely day in spring and the place looked as peaceful as if there had never been any fighting there.

Another incident connected with Aldie is also interesting:

My son, who is a member of various hunting clubs in this country, was riding with a hunting club of the region all about Aldie — and Aldie — when one of the Southern members said to him: "By the way, was n't your father wounded at the battle of Aldie? If so, I wish you would give him this sword, which was picked up on the battlefield; he may like to keep it as a remembrance." This sword is now hanging in Mr. Higginson's room and is a very precious relic to us.

ought not to be shirked by men of their class. Those of them who lived made good; among those who died were two or three of the best. Dead or living they were all dear to Henry Higginson to the end; and there were no mistakes in the list. In less intimate relations such was not always the case. Occasionally Henry Higginson was heard ingenuously to remark that he was a good judge of men; and then sagacious friends exchanged surreptitious smiles; for they did not give him credit for this perspicacity. In fact, not intelligence and experience together ever enabled him to overcome a tendency to give credit to others for more brains and better characters than they had. Such generosity in judgment cost him dear at times, as good and attractive qualities often are costly; and properly enough, for, after all, virtues are really luxuries, and luxuries ought to be paid for. But it is a fine thing to see any man who likes to give credit to his fellows, who admires even competitors and rivals, with no faintest shade of envy or jealousy, never begrudging praise to another, nor feeling himself elevated by the depression of others. Such a man is magnanimous, and such a man was Henry Higginson.

While he was at home, a wounded hero from Aldie, Major Higginson became engaged to Miss Ida Agassiz. She was the daughter of the famous Professor at Cambridge, a lady whom he had known from his early youth, and who became after marriage to him his constant companion during fifty-six years of married life. On September 20, 1863, Charles Lowell, in camp at Centreville, wrote: "I shall ask for 20 days leave — (Halleck is such a splendid old veteran that I expect he will refuse.) — and I shall be married on the first five — (one of the first five, Henry, it only takes one day.) — and I want you to try to be married in one of the other five." In fact, the marriage did take place on December 5 in the College Chapel at Cambridge. Col. Greely Curtis had been married just a fortnight earlier.

A few days later than the above-quoted letter, Lowell again wrote: "How could I be married without daily bread? a pertinent question, Henry. There are still young ravens, but it does not appear that Elijah ever taxed the powers of *his* by marrying. . . . I think you have enough to start as well as any young fellow ought to start, for his own happiness." "Enough

to start," but in what direction? Lowell had declared Henry Higginson to be "a born merchant." But foreign commerce already belonged to the past. Many of the old merchants were losing what they had made, and none were gathering much increase. There were the cotton mills of New England, but the weaving and selling of eternal yards of cotton cloth was a prosaic occupation. The Western railroads were excellent for capitalistic managers at home, with salaries for those who would go West; Charles Perkins almost alone among these exiles in time won money and distinction there. None of these callings was attractive. There was a brief experiment with an oil well in Ohio; then a year or so with Col. Charles F. Morse and Major Channing Clapp trying to raise Sea Island cotton in South Carolina, and then Major Higginson came back to Boston to avail himself of the very obvious opportunity which offered there in the shape of partnership in the stock-brokerage firm of Lee, Higginson & Co. It was already a good business and rapidly growing. It is true that one had not to look back far to see one or two brokers running about State Street and trying to get someone to buy or to sell a few shares of a cotton mill or one of the little New England railroads, and thus doing all the brokerage business that offered. But within a few years a new situation had developed. The lavish outpouring of bonds and stock by the new Western railroads, the impetus given by the war to manufacturing industries, the flood of paper money, the issues of Government bonds with tempting fluctuations in price, the speculation in gold, the gambling in the cheap "coppers," all combined to make a stock exchange which would have dazed the old-time broker. The family and social connections of the firm assured to it the best possible clientele; there was sufficient capital; the partners had the highest standing in point of character; thus all else being propitious, it remained only for them to make good in point of ability, and this they proceeded to do. The house moreover became a sort of educational institution, to which the Boston gentlemen crowded to secure admission for training their sons. Major Higginson's strong feeling of kindred always looked out for family applicants, and the list of relatives in one way or another engaged in or with the firm shows: John C. Lee, George Higginson, Henry L. Higginson, Col. Henry Lee,

Francis L. Higginson, George Lee and his son, George C. Lee, Charles C. Jackson, James Jackson, Frank Lee, James Jackson Storrow, F. L. Higginson, Jr. Not one of those relatives ever failed worthily to play his part. It was only when Major Higginson went farther afield that he was less sure to be fortunate. He made an excellent selection in that popular gentleman, Gardiner Lane; but in other instances had reason to regret his choice — having judged too generously of his men.

Further, the firm owed in some measure to family alliances its well-advised connections with the best financial enterprises of the day. Thus in the case of the great Calumet and Hecla Copper Mine, mother of fortunes, and fruit of the resolute faith of Quincy Shaw, the scientific knowledge of Alexander Agassiz, the practical energy of both — these two brothers-in-law of Major Higginson naturally brought their gallant bird to deposit her golden (or copper) eggs in the nest at 40 State Street. Then Professor Bell came with his telephone invention. Drawbaugh set up his claim of priority, and there was the long and doubtful legal conflict with wild speculation and fluctuation in the shares. James Jackson Storrow, Major Higginson's cousin, was the Bell counsel; the Major knew his calibre, stood steadfastly with him and reaped the harvest. Then came Western railroads, among which the champion was the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, with its children, whom it swallowed, as Saturn had done with his. It was matter of course that the firm should have its share in these extensive dealings, but again it had a personal advantage — for another cousin, Gen. Charles Jackson Paine, was reputed to be one of the ablest men who sat on the C. B. & Q. Board of Directors. He sat also habitually in the office of Lee, Higginson & Co., where he could be seen almost any forenoon ensconced in a comfortable armchair, handsome, silent, puffing at a cigar which seemed never to have had a beginning and certainly never had an end. If the firm sought information it was there at hand.

As the years rolled on the firm naturally strengthened and greatly extended its interests and its power. Of course all streams which came into the office were not such affluents as these earlier ones; into the procession of good securities some

insecurities inevitably found their way. But the balance was largely on the right side. Thus the Major, as chief partner in the prosperous house, certainly sat at the receipt of custom. If he did not take rank among the conspicuous multi-millionaires of the country, it was because he did not make the amassing of money his chief purpose. To spend it well interested him more. Charles Lowell only a few short weeks before his death on the battle-field, in a memorable letter to Henry Higginson had written: "Don't grow rich; if you once begin you'll find it much more difficult to be a useful citizen." Probably Henry Higginson needed no such advice; at least the "useful citizen" always predominated over the money-getter in him. We shall now see how.

Betwixt labor on her behalf and gifts made to her, Harvard College has had no other such benefactor. What aid he rendered inconspicuously, in smaller matters from time to time, or to individuals, can only be guessed at. What all can see is that, had he not lived and prospered, it is unlikely that the students would have had a playground or a Stadium, or a Harvard Union Clubhouse. It was not that he took what is called an "intelligent interest" in a great institution of learning or a huge factory of education. What moved him was a very human interest in the multitudinous, ever-changing body of students who had the future in their hands, who were citizens in the making, who soon would largely possess and control the country — very largely, if they were true to their opportunities. He said to them: "The honor of the nation rests with you, for the hope of a nation is in its young men." Intertwined with this feeling there was also a sympathy with those primitive qualities which make the study of youth the study of the creature Man; for the young man is much more the natural man than he will ever be in later years. When we predict of the youngster that he will "learn by experience," or will "outgrow" this or that, we mean that the natural human will be transformed into an artificial product. The Major had the simple and sound purpose to cultivate among the swarming lads those good tendencies which one expects to find, at least in embryo, in young men, as Colonel Newcome would have said in his favorite phrase, *ingenui vultus, ingenuique pudoris*. Fortunately for the establishment of an influential relationship he had

an entirely honest and very lively interest in their sports — more especially, as was characteristic of him, in the more manly sports of football and rowing. This fellow-feeling secured their confidence; they could put their trust in a man who cared for these things. He used to go out to see what was going on upon Holmes Field or Jarvis Field, and in so doing his eye of the business man told him that it would be but a short time before these areas would be absorbed for buildings. Where would "the boys" go then? He walked about the region and looked hither and yon, and saw nothing. At last the scheme of the Soldiers Field occurred to him. There were objections, of distance, of the marshy character of the ground. But to wait for a scheme without objections was to wait forever. So he bought the land and presented it to the College. On June 10, 1890, at a gathering of students and graduates in Sever Hall the gift was formally made. In a letter which was read Major Higginson said that the "estate henceforth belongs to the College without any condition or restriction whatsoever. . . . My hope is that the ground will be used for the present as a playground for the students" and if it should ever be otherwise used, that "another playground would be given. . . . The only other wish on my part is that the ground shall be called 'The Soldiers' Field' and marked with a stone bearing the names of some dear friends — alumni of the University, and noble gentlemen — who gave freely and eagerly all that they had or hoped for, to their country and to their fellow men in the hour of great need — the war of 1861 to 1865 in defence of the Republic." President Eliot spoke briefly in acceptance, and then Major Higginson, not improbably to the astonishment of himself and his friends, approved himself an orator — a very great orator, if, as Dr. Holmes said, a man is to be measured by his highest achievement. The brief address then made by him is of the very first quality, and the man is to be pitied who can read it without feeling his heart throb and his eyes fill. As an utterance of deep feeling, made more intense by restrained expression, it is not surpassed in English literature. In form and substance it is beyond criticism. Hereafter the Major spoke on other occasions — at the Harvard Union, more notably at the Sanders Theatre concerning Robert Gould Shaw, and elsewhere — and always with eloquence, beauty and feeling; but he never again

quite reached the level of this address. His habit was to speak in short, crisp, emphatic sentences, a dangerous method unless used in perfect good faith and with genuine earnestness behind it, for if employed merely rhetorically the affectation is sure to be detected. Major Higginson used it habitually and effectively in conversation as well as on formal occasions; it was natural to him. Therefore when he talked in earnest he talked forcibly. But he was not always willing to hand out his thoughts, and in such case he defensively threw out trifling, banal remarks which did not always produce a favorable impression. This, however, meant only that he was not at the moment inclined for serious talk.

First, and last, in one way and another, the students got much assistance and advice from Henry Higginson. Largely to him they owed it that inter-collegiate football was continued. In the earlier days it was a revoltingly brutal game, each side attributing to the other, and too probably itself sometimes practising, unworthy tricks — a game too often played in a bad and ungentlemanly spirit. Either reform or prohibition became inevitable. That it was reform was due more to the influence of Major Higginson than to any other one single cause.

> In your games there is just one thing that you cannot do, even to win success. You cannot do one tricky or shabby thing. Translate tricky and shabby — dishonest and ungentlemanlike. Princeton is not wicked, Yale is not base. . . . Mates, the Princeton and the Yale fellows are our brothers. Let us beat them fairly, if we can, and believe that they will play the game just as we do.

He preached a good deal, but very tactfully. Leaving aside the nice little well-bred virtues, he urged the more inspiring and manly ones. He told the boys to be honorable, strenuous and resolute, public-spirited, never shirkers of public or of private duty. He did not wish Harvard to pour over the country every year a flood of gentle saints; what he did want was that she should send all through the country manly men and useful citizens. His influence was great because there was in him a temperament which young men instinctively felt and liked; they recognized a man not quite so crude as themselves, but not less human, a man virile, impulsive, strong, passionate; and by the same instinct they could see that those qualities

were held firmly in hand by resolute self-control. Understanding this they gave their confidence to such a man. In fact, Henry Higginson was one of those fortunate men who understood his own character, and who thus was clearly aware that among his tendencies was an impetuosity which called for restraint; with intelligent firmness, therefore, he applied that restraint, with the result that there was constructive power where there might otherwise have been destructive violence. This sort of man the lads respected, getting at his nature by the freemasonry of youth.

In 1882 Harvard University conferred upon Mr. Higginson the honorary degree of Master of Arts. In 1893 she further did him the honor and herself the benefit of making him a member of the Corporation, which office he continued to hold till his death. In 1901 Yale gave him an LL.D., a very graceful recognition, apart from general considerations, of the efforts which he had made to bring the two Universities upon the footing of an honorable and friendly spirit in the rivalry which naturally existed between them. In 1912 Williams College did him the like honor.

The most conspicuous act of Henry Higginson's life was, of course, the founding and maintaining of the famous Symphony Orchestra. He said that the scheme first occurred to him in Vienna when he reached the sad conclusion to abandon the further study of music there, and he then mentioned it to Professor Eppstein. Thereafter through the years of war and of business he kept it quietly laid by in his mind until at last, in 1881, he felt able to face the financial risk. Yet the money was the least matter. If he had it, well and good of course; but it only gave him the chance to begin to work, and the work in itself was momentous in proportion as his visions of achievement were high. Already engaged in managing a great business, he now proposed to assume as a mere side issue a task which energetic impresarios, with an experience which he lacked, found to be quite all that they could handle. He must also be pretty sure of himself, of his patience to persist during long years when progress must be slow and criticism would doubtless be abundant, of his good temper likewise and tact for dealing with the numerous groups of foreigners belonging to the most uneasy and *difficile* class of mankind. All

these drafts upon purse, physical endurance and moral qualities he had intelligence enough to foresee and courage enough to face. Some probably turned out serious beyond anticipation; also others, unforeseen, were added — as, for example, when from time to time he was subjected to the attempted invasion of "unions," though this especial difficulty probably gave him some gratification as well as trouble. For the old spirit of the hero of "Bloody Monday" night still lived in him, and it must have been a keen pleasure for him to administer to "agitators" a kind of agitation very little to their taste. The newspaper critics of course bothered him more or less; sometimes they were witty and amusing, only rarely abusive; and if they knew more than he or his leader — well, that was only their business. But worry on this score was not excessive; and the public, always wanting more tickets than there were seats, kept the balance of opinion on the right side.

For the matter of financial deficit, Major Higginson had anticipated it as likely to last at least a few years, and had set what he thought a safe estimate at $20,000 per annum. In fact it was variable, but, like the poor, was always with him. One year it ran up to $50,000, another to $52,000. Mr. Howe, in his well-told story of the Orchestra, says that the exact aggregate of the deficits was not obtainable, but that at the time of his writing (1912) it had been at least $900,000. This probably represented the Treasurer's accountings and did not include many disbursements which would be taken by Henry Higginson from his privy purse. Also several years were yet to be added before the close. Altogether it is not likely that a prudent gambler would care to bind himself to make good all the outlay, direct and indirect, from earliest A to latest Z, for a less sum than a million and a quarter of dollars, probably he would exact substantially more. For the multi-millionaire of today this would be no staggering sum; but for the Boston banker and broker, during the now antiquated period covered by the concerts, it was large. No one, of course, knew what were Major Higginson's income and resources, but the down-town gossips did not pretend that these sums were any bagatelle for him, to be met with indifference year after year, in good times and in bad alike. In 1857, while he was devoting himself to his musical studies, and, as he well knew, was being criticized by the

busybodies, he wrote to his father: "What is money good for, if not to spend for one's friends and to help them? You've done so all your life — let me do so while I can, for it is in me (I have always known it,) to be a close man, a miser." It is interesting to lay this letter of youth, almost boyhood, beside the ledger of the Symphony Orchestra; the "miser" in him certainly was being castigated, yet was not heard to groan.

Patience in well-doing was not less needed than dollars. The concerts started well under an able conductor; but in the clamber to the ultimate pinnacle of real supremacy it is the final stage which counts. It was not long before New York was outstripped; but Major Higginson had European capitals also in his mind as competitors, not indeed to be surpassed, but if possible to be equalled. In the earlier years when gracious compliments were brought to him, he only replied, substantially, that it was not yet time for them. At last, however, he could accept them. In 1893 Mr. Paur, when he first heard the Orchestra, said that he thought it "the best orchestra in the world," and with greater familiarity with it this opinion was corroborated. Richard Strauss exclaimed, "I wish I could have this orchestra in Europe and perform the Beethoven Symphonies with it!" In 1906 Dr. Muck "did not hesitate to rank the orchestra with the best in Europe."

The story was commonly reported that Major Higginson had established by his will a sufficient financial foundation to secure the continuance of the orchestra for an indefinite period after his death. In 1888 he wrote: "It is a work with which I wish to go on as long as I can, and if it can be made to continue forever, which is my expectation, so much the better." Other remarks or indications seemed to point to his purpose to make it a permanent institution, not limited by his own life or personal control. But unfortunate occurrences brought about what may be called the Tragedy of the Symphony Orchestra. After the outbreak of the war, rumors were circulated that Dr. Muck, then the leader, was a German spy. Some persons began to cry out that Major Higginson should dismiss him, forgetful that there was a contract which Mr. Higginson could not cancel without actual legal proof of sufficient cause; whereas no one presented any smallest item of real evidence against the conductor. Certainly the surpassing meanness of the musi-

cian's face made suspicion of him easy, but a mean face is not proof; and further Major Higginson knew that the initial move of the assailants was based upon a falsehood, which those who made it did not abandon after proof of its falsity. Apart from these practical considerations, there was perceptible a strange air of personal malice. Was it perhaps a case of *dux femina facti?* If the compliment which lay in the words as used by the Roman poet were first carefully eliminated, sagacious friends and adherents of Major Higginson felt no doubt that the quotation held the true explanation. This was quite the wrong way to attack a man of his spirit. Further, to the Major's honorable temperament such perfidy as he was asked to believe seemed so incredible, that he refused to believe it and in actual fact did not believe it. Yet harassed by the unfriendly gossip and made anxious by the advice of dispassionate friends, he turned to the Government. Twice most searching investigations were officially made by the best detectives, and twice the Government gave to the Major a "clean bill" for Dr. Muck. Thus the matter stood when suddenly the news came that the German was interned at Fort Oglethorpe. Short and sharp as the blade of the guillotine falls, so fell this blow. The few concerts still due were given under other leadership, and Major Higginson's Symphony Orchestra came to an end. Why? The relationship between Major Higginson and the musician had been strictly one of business, and down town many such relationships were being severed without therefore destroying the business. The Major had never been in the most remote manner sponsor for the integrity of its leader; even less so indeed than the National Government itself, whose judgment he had asked and accepted. Why then should he have thus dropped his enterprise? Many questions shall be asked, and few shall be answered. The unworthy treatment which he had received gave him abundant justification for resentment. But he uttered no word indicative of the feeling. As being an old man and ill, he might have been glad of an opportunity to lay down a burden which now had such painful associations. But he hinted at no such explanation. He said not a word. He simply did what he saw fit, and that was the end. It is useless for us to try to divine his feeling; and though it is difficult for his friends to hold their

peace, and there are things which they would like to say, yet it is right that they should respect his judgment.[1]

Incidentally, it is in place here to say that, at the outbreak of the late war, Major Higginson's sympathy was enlisted for the allies with all the decisiveness and ardor which marked his temperament. Tales of German cruelty and bad faith stirred his fierce indignation. Later, when Mr. Wilson, with tardy and hesitating steps, at last ranged this country against Germany, Henry Higginson gave hearty approval. Of course he could not render active personal service, but by every stimulating word and every useful act, whenever opportunity offered, he gave his best aid. Had a zeal equal to his and such efficiency as he demanded been found everywhere in our high official quarters it would have been well for the cause and for the country.

Major Higginson's eightieth birthday was celebrated by a great complimentary banquet. Starting in the modest scheme of a few friends, it could not be prevented from expanding. Such a demonstration required to be managed with delicacy and tact, for other men besides Henry Higginson were liberal and useful citizens and were receiving no such distinction. True; but no other man had made to the community such a present as the Symphony Concerts, and it was this gift which was really the underlying incentive to the celebration. Boston for a long while had been living upon her traditions; upon memories of her past; and a very brilliant past she certainly had for living upon; but unfortunately it was a past; and if any unkind person should say that her present was little better than commonplace respectability, his discourtesy would have

[1] The internment of Dr. Muck took place early in April, 1918. Mr. Higginson's will was executed in October, 1918. Therein he made no mention of the Symphony Orchestra. A codicil was executed in December, 1918, at which time a newly organized "Symphony Orchestra" was giving concerts. To this he bequeathed his very valuable musical library and collection of musical instruments. But this gift was conditional upon the discretion of his executor, who, not less than three and not later than five years after the testator's death, was to make delivery of the bequest, or to cancel it, as he should see fit, with the hope that he would be "guided by the manner in which the Symphony Orchestra shall have been and is being managed, and the prospect of continued existence in accordance with high standards." It was a kindly and magnanimous spirit towards the successor which was going to try to take the place of his own beloved enterprise.

been more easily resented than gainsaid. To the good Bostonians, who were painfully conscious of this condition, Major Higginson had suddenly given a fresh distinction, a splendid preëminence in music. He had made Boston the rival of Vienna or Berlin, while in America she had no rival. For though New York might boast with her Philharmonic, she boasted only as a poor second. For this glorious revival Boston had to be grateful to Major Higginson alone, and the great dinner was the token by which his fellow citizens expressed their *Thank You*. It was a grand success.

On the occasion of this eightieth birthday dinner Major Higginson appeared to be in fair physical condition. But ailments were brooding which slowly developed during the succeeding years. He had to undergo some severe surgery. His superb strength enabled him for some time to hold his own against the inevitable, but of course the end had to come. On November 14, 1919, he went to the Hospital for a slight supplementary operation, which was successfully performed; he failed, however, to rally and died that night. His funeral took place on Monday, November 17, at the Appleton Chapel in Harvard College Yard, an immense crowd attending; and he was buried at Mount Auburn Cemetery where a file of United States soldiers fired a volley over his grave.

To sketch a man of Major Higginson's countless activities and many very striking characteristics within the compass of a Memorial notice is to do miniature work; and he does not easily lend himself to presentation in miniature. Sargent made a superb full-length portrait of him, and a biographic likeness which shall be in Literature what that great painting is in Art ought to be made. In what has been herein above said, eulogy has been carefully shunned. Not a trait has been attributed to him which he did not have, and not one has been drawn in extravagant phrase. All the praise that has been given is strictly true. Of course, being eminently human, he had faults; but in writing of a good man, we do not expatiate upon his shortcomings, just as *per contra*, no historian has ever suggested the presence of virtues in Nero, though he too, being human, doubtless had some good quality. But the good services which a man does for his fellowmen, and the fine traits whereby he stimulates them to well-doing — these are the

things we want to know, and which it is good for us to know. On the other hand to point out flaws is not only ungracious; it is officious and altogether superfluous, for what is more certain than that our very dear friend knows all our failings much more surely than any one else does? In point of fact the biographer of Henry Higginson fortunately can dare — as not too many biographers can — to take and keep the ancient and venerated oath of our courts of justice: To speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Thus will the character of this strong and generous man and most useful citizen be most fairly depicted.

MARCH MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the President, the first Vice-President, Mr. WARREN occupied the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

The purchase of fifty-two issues of the Boston Evening Post, 1739–1743, being in most cases the only copies now in Boston, and the second known numbers; also a number of broadsides, among which are "A Poem on the Death of Abraham Howe, of Shrewsbury," October 19, 1779, printed and sold at the printing office in Worcester; and one on a "Violent Storm" which raged through the eastern part of the State on October 9 and 10, 1804.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

By purchase from the Estate of Miss Grace Lyde Gordon, of New York, the private seal of Gov. Jonathan Belcher; a compass for a watch chain, with the Oliver crest; a wedding dress of Elizabeth, daughter of Lt. Gov. Andrew Oliver, her vellum fan and satin slippers used at her marriage to Edward Lyde, November 18, 1772; and six miniatures, of George Lyde (1742–1804), son of Byfield and Sarah (Belcher) Lyde, painted in England in 1785 by Cosway or William Wood; of Mrs. Elizabeth (Oliver) Lyde (1738–1820), daughter of Lt. Gov. Oliver and Mary (Sanford) Oliver, sister of Gov. Thomas Hutchinson's wife, painted in 1812 by Dunlap; of Elizabeth Lyde (1775–1870), daughter of Edward and Elizabeth (Oliver) Lyde, painted by Rousseau; of Edward Lyde (1773–1831), son of the same parents, having a lock of his hair in the back of the case; of Sarah Louisa Lyde (1779–1871), daughter of the same parents, having a similar lock of her hair, who married Belcher Byles (1780–1815); and one of the same Belcher Byles, with a similar lock of hair, painted in 1811.

From Winslow Warren, the reproduction of a rare contemporary lithograph of Park Square in 1837, published by Charles E. Goodspeed in 1902, the original drawn on stone by Robert Sturn, showing the view from the Hancock House on the left to the Boston and

Providence Depot, at the right; also an engraved view of Harvard University, Cambridge, by James Archer, and an engraved portrait of Benjamin Franklin.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, a badge of the 101st Infantry, U.S.A., twelve months in foreign service; and a badge of the Belgian Relief.

From Howard M. Chapin, of Providence, a photograph of a sampler made by Marian Guild, Dedham, at the age of thirteen years, in 1819, a great-aunt of the late Governor Curtis Guild, being one of an exhibition held at the Rhode Island Historical Society, which included a number of fifty Massachusetts samplers.

From George Hale Nutting, Vice-President of the Massachusetts Society of Sons of the American Revolution, one of the Washington and Franklin Medals to be presented by that society to certain High Schools and Academies in the Commonwealth, annually, for excellence in the study of United States history.

From F. H. Shumway, a badge of the Springfield Board of Trade.

From the towns of Wenham, and Westwood, their service medals in the World War.

By purchase: three photographs, two of which show the interior of the entrance gallery of the Old Boston Museum, when the building was torn down; and the third showing the Museum and the old building of the Historical Society, at the same time, all taken by William T. Clark.

By exchange, medals of John Adams and John Quincy Adams struck from the old copper of the belfry of the First Church in Quincy, 1911.

Dr. J. Collins Warren, exhibited a lithograph of the house built by the Hon. Jonathan Mason on Mt. Vernon Street, (directly opposite the head of Mt. Vernon Street) in 1801 and torn down in 1839 to give place to a block of red-face brick houses most of which remain standing at the present time. Mr. Mason was formerly a United States Senator and a prominent citizen of Boston; he died in 1831. The architectural design of the building shows a swell front with two wings and in this respect it closely resembled the building erected by his son-in-law, Mr. David Sears, in 1818, and now occupied by the Somerset Club. This latter building had but one swell front and it is evident that another one was added later, as the history of the Somerset Club indeed states.

These two buildings in general design also resemble the

famous Gore house at Watertown, which also has a single swell front in the center with two very extensive wings, giving it a most imposing appearance. Dr. Warren thought that the Gore house was built by Bulfinch [1] and that the Mason house was also built by the same architect. The Sears mansion was designed by Parris. These three buildings represent the ideal architecture at the opening of the century and the passing of the Jonathan Mason house indicates the end of the old-time mansion house and the substitution of brick-faced houses in Boston.

Incidentally Dr. Warren showed a picture of Beacon Street as it appeared in 1843 at the opposite end of Walnut Street. No. 1 Walnut Street was originally built by the father of Wendell Phillips and was occupied at the date above mentioned (1843) by Thomas Dixon, K.N.L., K.L. The house on the opposite side of the street was occupied by F. Homer, Esq. son of B. P. Homer, the former occupant.

The Vice-President announced the appointment of the following Committees, in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate Officers for the ensuing year: Messrs. WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT, RICHARD HENRY DANA, and PAUL REVERE FROTHINGHAM.

To examine the Library and Cabinet: Messrs. ROBERT GOULD SHAW, LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO, and EDWARD GRAY.

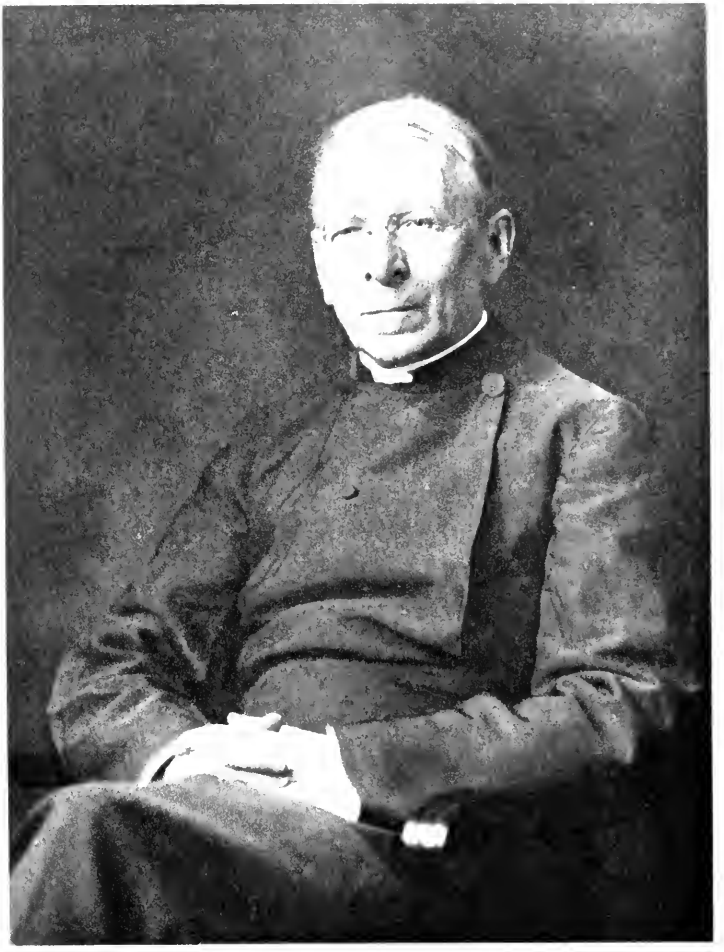
To examine the Treasurer's Accounts: Messrs. CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH, and HENRY HERBERT EDES.

Endicott Peabody Saltonstall was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. MORISON read a paper on "From Sea to Factory; two transitional Decades in Massachusetts History, 1820–1840," being a chapter of a forthcoming history of Massachusetts.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. J. C. WARREN, THAYER, and DOWSE.

[1] Or his co-worker Samuel McIntire (the "wood carver of Salem"); died 1811 aged 54.



George Hodges

MEMOIR

OF

GEORGE HODGES

By PAUL REVERE FROTHINGHAM.

George Hodges was born of New England parents. His father, George Frederick (Handel) Hodges, and his mother, Hannah Elisabeth Ballard, came from Taunton, Massachusetts. Both families were rooted deep in Massachusetts soil. William Hodges, an ancestor, settled in Taunton in 1643, and the Ballards traced descent from Miles Standish. In the early records of Taunton we find mention of men by the name of Hodges who were constables, town-officers and soldiers, and of Ballards who were deacons and men of public spirit. The inheritance was a good one, marked by a rather unusual amount of intellectual force, and in one instance by conspicuous musical ability. The father of George Hodges owed the presence of Handel in his name to the fact that the grandfather, Zephaniah Leonard Hodges, attained reputation as a builder of organs, and a maker of violoncellos. He organized the Beethoven Society in 1821, and perhaps it was due to him that Taunton still remains a rather well-known musical center.

Soon after their marriage, in 1844, the parents of George Hodges moved to Camden, N. Y., where the Ballards had a "fulling" mill. There two children were born to them, both of whom died in childhood. A few years later, some time between 1853 and 1856, a move was made to Rome, N. Y., and there on October 6, 1856, George was born. His mother died when he was five years old, and somewhat later his father married again, having a son also by this second marriage.

The boy attended the public schools, and later on the local

academy of Rome, finding his way in time to Hamilton College from which he graduated as Bachelor of Arts in 1877, five years later receiving the Master's Degree. He taught school for a year in London, Ontario, after which, having decided to study for the ministry, he attended for a time a theological school in Syracuse, N. Y. — St. Andrew's Divinity School, which had just been organized by Bishop Huntington. Twelve months later he made his way to Berkeley Divinity School in Middletown, Conn., where he finished his theological training. Ordination as Deacon came in due course in 1881, and as Priest in 1882. In the autumn of 1881 he was married to Anna Sargent Jennings of Skaneateles, N. Y., and in the same year he became assistant to Rev. Boyd Vincent, the rector of Calvary Church in Pittsburgh, Penn.

His life work had now definitely begun. He was twenty-five years old. Almost at once he began to give evidence of those capacities and qualities, those varied gifts and marked endowments, which speedily made him a power in the Church, and a conspicuous influence in the civic life of Pittsburgh.

In an outward, or physical sense, George Hodges had little in his favor. He was destined to become in time a noted figure in the pulpit, and a brilliant success upon the public platform; but what he became was won by application, perseverance, and hard work. He was not dowered with a commanding figure, nor helped by a handsome countenance. He was small of stature, rather plain of feature, and with a voice of no particular power, or attractiveness.

But almost at once his peculiar and remarkable gifts began to be displayed. There was a virility about him, a freshness of thought and speech, which ministers of religion so frequently lack. He took hold of his tasks with vigor and enthusiasm. He identified himself first of all with the civic life and business interests of Pittsburgh. He was of Ruskin's opinion that in a great industrial center the sole interest should not be to strengthen steel, or to bleach cotton, or to mould metal, but to strengthen, shape and manufacture men and women. "Christianity between Sundays" was the significant title that he gave to a volume of his sermons. His was not a preaching ministry alone: it was a working ministry as well. He was with his people not merely on the first day of the week, but

on the other six days also. His service of the Master was continuous.

This went on for a period of eight years. Then, in 1889, Rev. Dr. Vincent was elected Bishop of Southern Ohio and resigned as Rector. Hodges was at once unanimously chosen to fill the vacancy. For four years more his work was carried on in Pittsburgh, growing as the city grew, and widening, deepening all the time in power and effectiveness. These were the days when Social Reform was coming to the front, and when Social Settlements were being organized. The Pittsburgh Rector was early in the field. His church became an institutional church: his parish was the city. He was among the first to catch the social vision of Religion, and it was a vision to which he was ever afterwards obedient. In other words, he saw that Religion ought to be concerned not merely with individual men and women, but, with society itself, and the righting of the social order. As he himself expressed it in his pointed, practical and pungent way: "We have a long tradition of emphasis on the individual virtues. We are only beginning to emerge from the idea that the function of religion is to save men and women one by one, out of the world, and not to save the world. We have addressed ourselves to the task of making good fathers and mothers, good sons and daughters, good wives and husbands, good neighbors — all of it excellent and necessary — but we have only in a vague way, as yet undertaken the task of making good citizens, good councilmen, good mayors, good employers of labor, good directors of corporations, good landlords, governors, and presidents."

In obedience to this vision, he went out and established in Pittsburgh a social settlement on the lines laid down by Toynbee Hall, giving it the name of Kingsley House. The title was significant. There was not a little similarity between Hodges' ministry and that of the famous English churchman and christian socialist. He had Kingsley's passionate interest in human life, together with a considerable measure of his instinct for reform.

But George Hodges was not destined to continue long as a parish minister, even though his ministry was as broad as this, and his parish as inclusive. His peculiar gifts, and his inspirational power came to be widely recognized. Moreover it was

understood that he had teaching as well as preaching gifts, and academic no less than ministerial equipment. It was not surprising, therefore, that in 1893 the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Mass., reached out and took him. The deanship of the School had been left vacant by the elevation of William Lawrence to the Bishopric of Massachusetts. The position was offered to Dr. Hodges. The Pittsburgh people were very loth to let him go, but in 1894 he moved to Cambridge which thenceforth was to be his home. The post was an important one, and he was destined to fill it to perfection. He had found his niche. Besides serving as Dean of the School he became Professor of homiletics, liturgics, and pastoral care. It was not as Professor Hodges, however, that he was thereafter to be known, nor as Dr. Hodges, though he was given the D.D. degree as early as 1892 by Western University of Pennsylvania. Almost universally for the rest of his life he was to be known as *Dean* Hodges, and the title was made use of by a constantly increasing number of acquaintances and friends, and by a growing stream of grateful students.

George Hodges was not, therefore, a man of many posts, nor of continuously changing duties. He served but one parish, he occupied only one academic position. It is not to be inferred from this, however, that his life was in any sense a narrow one, or that his influence and outlook were provincial. The very opposite was the case. Although a teacher he never ceased to be a preacher, and his duties in a theological school never interfered with his duties as a citizen and a champion of Social Reform. From the first after his settlement in Cambridge he discharged the double function of teaching in the school, and ministering to St. John's congregation. Moreover, he was in constant demand as a college preacher. He went on Sundays from Yale to Princeton, from Wellesley to Vassar, Smith, Mt. Holyoke and Amherst. For several years he was a member of the Harvard Board of Preachers. At odd intervals he was delivering lectures either in some formal course, like that of the Lowell Institute, or on casual occasions of less importance. Withal he was active in local charity work, toiling early and late on Cambridge boards of civic reform and public welfare. What he wrote of the famous Quaker, William Penn, was true, in a degree of himself: "He had taken the world for his parish. He considered himself

a citizen of the planet, and took an episcopal, pontifical interest in the affairs of men and nations." He was at one and the same time Teacher, Preacher, Reformer, Lecturer, Man of Letters, Man of the World, and Man of God. He was perpetually passing without haste, but likewise without rest, from one duty to another, and from one task to a greater, more absorbing task.

There were three things in the character and career of George Hodges which call for careful emphasis, three qualities which, more than any others, marked him as a man, and made his life conspicuously fruitful. In the first place, no one could come into close contact with him, and not recognize the genuine catholicity of his spirit. Almost equally significant was the extraordinary freshness and originality of his thought, which was accompanied by a delicious and spontaneous sense of humor, and finally, he had a capacity for work and a power of achievement which left one filled with increasing wonder.

Some men are liberal on principle, and force themselves to assume a breadth of interest they do not feel; but Dean Hodges was instinctively, joyously and unfailingly catholic and inclusive in his point of view. He was no narrow partisan whether in politics or religion: and he knew how to be loyal, without coming to be a bigot. He was a devout Episcopalian who loved his church, and was splendidly devoted to it; but somehow one always thought of him first and foremost as a sincere, large-hearted Christian who sought to follow in the footsteps of the Son of Man. He had friends in all denominations, and enemies in none. Indeed, he almost gave the impression of belonging equally to all. He made an earnest effort to understand the other person's point of view. It was thus that he could write so sympathetically and with an understanding so complete, of William Penn. In the course of his little Beacon Biography of the famous Friend he wrote: "There have been many religious persons in high positions who have been so shut in by Church walls that they have been incapable of wider outlook; they have accordingly been narrow, prejudiced, and often impractical people; they have been blind to the elemental social fact of difference; they have hated the thought of toleration. Penn was almost alone among the good men of our era of colonization in being a man of the world, and a man of the other world."

Quite as characteristic, however, as the breadth of Dean

Hodges' mind was the extraordinary freshness, spontaneity and originality of his thought. He was vivid in his manner of speech, quick and apt in illustration, with a positive genius for applying ancient, historic happenings to present-day events and needs. If he spoke about the Good Samaritan, he took you with him all the way from Jerusalem to Jericho, pointed out the dangerous sections of the road, and showed you where ruffians could easily lie concealed. Palestine, when he spoke of it, became a present place, the Dead Sea, a sheet of living water, the Jordan, a real, as well as a sacred river.

He had a quaint, colloquial way of introducing and describing familiar Scriptural friends. It was thus in the course of a sermon that he characterized Martha and Mary as "two maiden ladies living in straitened circumstances." More especially, it was this peculiar gift of his that enabled him to write of sacred things so alluringly for children. His *Garden of Eden*, and *When the King Came* are almost without parallel in the way they attract and hold the attention of the child. Dean Hodges understood as few have done so thoroughly and well the true meaning of "the Simplicity that is in Christ." Never were sermons, lectures and addresses simpler or more direct than his, and it might be added that few have been more searching. He went to the heart of a subject with unerring instinct, and he lighted it up with positive genius. Moreover, he was the happy possessor of a delicate and delicious sense of humor, and this gift in his case came to be a truly saving grace. It kept him from giving offense, and from arousing unfortunate opposition. Except for his humor one can easily believe that this man would have had no easy time as he came in contact with those who lacked his breadth of vision. For he held an advanced position in theological thought. He led opinion and did not merely follow. He went out in advance of his religious communion, and was extremely unconventional along various lines. His experience gave added emphasis to the familiar assertion that it is not so much what one says that gives offense, as the way one says it. There is a world-wide difference between speaking the truth forbiddingly, and speaking it in love — between the cold, or heartless, and the gently humorous expression of unwelcome opinions. His latest book, for instance, was a radical exposition of the primitive and barbarous ethical stand-

ards of part of the Old Testament record. He treated the subject with unsparing frankness. One cannot imagine such a book coming from one of his communion without awakening more or less unfriendly censure. But Hodges seldom gave offense. The heretic was concealed behind the humorist. He disarmed criticism by being armed himself with kindness and consideration. He found no joy in hurting people's feelings, and hence it was that he was such a helpful influence.

But it may be that his most conspicuous quality was extraordinary industry. Someone has said of him that he had "a prodigious capacity for toil"; and that is no exaggeration. How he ever accomplished so much, or discovered time for the writing of so many books, and the delivery of so many lectures, and the preparation of so many sermons, to say nothing of the performance of so many prescribed tasks and the doing of so many kindly deeds that were unprescribed, must ever remain a mystery. No one ever heard of him forgetting engagements, or giving up appointments, or pleading in excuse that he had so much to do. He was constantly saying "yes" to a multitude of requests, and always "present or accounted for" when the appointed time arrived. The very titles of his books, and the dates of their publication tell a tale of constant toil that does not call for comment. Beginning with 1889 when his first book was published, there was hardly a year until the last year of his life that he did not supply readers with at least one volume of interest and value. In 1892 we have *Christianity between Sundays;* in 1894, *The Heresy of Cain;* in 1896, *In This Present World;* and *Faith and Social Service;* and so it goes on until in 1904 we have *Fountains Abbey*, *The Human Nature of the Saints*, *When the King Came*, and *The Cross and Passion.* Two years later we have another armful of volumes, for in 1906 he saw through the press *Three Hundred Years of the Episcopal Church in America*, *The Administration of an Institutional Church*, *The Year of Grace*, and *The Happy Family.* And so he went on to the end, unceasingly at work, either publishing sermons, or editing lectures, or writing histories, or preparing biographies. Strachey tells us that "It is as difficult to write a good life as to live one." It would appear, however, that both were easy to this extraordinary man. After publishing in 1914 a *Class-book of Old Testament History*, and a volume on *The Early Church*

(Lowell Lecture), he was ready in 1915 with the *Life of Henry Codman Potter*, Seventh Bishop of New York. Then came in 1917 a volume of sermons entitled *Religion in a World at War*, and finally, in 1918, *How to know the Bible*. It was a remarkable record of twenty-nine books in thirty-one years: and when it is remembered that in addition to writing books he was constantly contributing to magazines and periodicals the record becomes still more extraordinary.

When a stream of thought was so copious it was not to be expected that it should be conspicuously original or profound. It was clear, fresh, life-giving, inspirational, and was drawn from many sources. Dean Hodges never set himself up to be a great student. He made no direct contribution to learning or scholarship. He was neither a pedant, nor bookworm, but a prophet and interpreter of life.

He wrote no monumental book either of history or philosophy which future generations will consult in search of information, but he left a large number of books which will probably remain for many years a source of inspiration. He was content to promote life, not learning; and in much the same way his interest was in Religion rather than Theology.

As a matter of fact, however, his reputation for scholarship suffered from the very simplicity of his thought, and his clearness of expression. It is difficult to persuade some people that dullness is not a sign of learning, and it is a fallacy which still persists that if a preacher or author is interesting he cannot, therefore, be either accurate or profound. It is true, no doubt, that George Hodges was not primarily nor technically a scholar: but he valued scholarship and he was very widely read, with a wealth of knowledge at his quick command.

A life of ceaseless toil and unresting industry, like his, could not go on indefinitely. In 1915 there were indications of a break. He took a year away from academic tasks and went to Southern California. He returned apparently as well as ever. But the injury to health was permanent. His heart had given way. Nevertheless there were four more years of continued energy and usefulness. In the spring of 1919, however, there came collapse. He was moved in May to his summer home in Holderness, N. H., and there, on the 27th of the month he passed quietly away. The funeral was held three days later from St.

John's Chapel, Cambridge, where he had spoken to so many of life and death and immortality. The services were conducted by his associates in the Faculty of the School. They were in charge of Dr. Drown, who was assisted by Dr. Kellner, and Bishop Babcock. At the Dean's definite request the body was cremated, and Dr. Washburn read the committal service in the Crematory Chapel at Mt. Auburn.

It had been a happy, useful, and productive life, not without its burdens and its sorrows, but for the most part bright and joyous, crowned with honors and achievements. His wife died in 1897, leaving him with two children. After a period of loneliness he married, for a second wife, Miss Julia Shelley, of Oswego, N. Y., and three more children came to him. He was happy in his home; he had a host of friends, and a multitude of warm admirers. Young men gathered around him in increasing numbers as his years increased. He never grew perceptibly old. He was permitted to round out a quarter of a century of service at the Episcopal Theological School, and the joyous anniversary was celebrated fitly. He loved his fellowmen, and love was given to him in return. He served, and he knew the joy of service. In a sermon called "The Credentials of Christianity" it was characteristic of him to assert that "The Credentials of Christianity are not creeds, but deeds." He could say: "Wherever the Christian religion has ceased to be helpful, men have ceased to believe in it; and rightly, because then it has ceased to be Christian." No words could better, or more fitly and fully express, the spirit of his life, and the essence of his Gospel. Both were a blessing to the world and an impetus to higher living.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1920.

THE annual meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the PRESIDENT, and of the first VICE-PRESIDENT, the second VICE-PRESIDENT, Mr. RHODES, occupied the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the deposit by Mrs. Nicholas P. T. Burke, of Milton, of a Baskerville Bible, 1771, owned by Paul Revere, her ancestor, containing his family record in his own handwriting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Mr. C. P. Greenough, a collection of American, English. and French engraved portraits.

From Dr. John W. Farlow, a number of engravings.

From James W. Reardon, a medal in silver presented by the *Boston Sunday Advertiser* in the Washington Franklin Essay Competition, founded in 1920, in recognition of literary merit and general excellence.

From Edward Gray, a 6½ cent scrip of the Philadelphia Loan Company, July 4, 1837.

From Fred Joy, a ten cent note of Southbridge, 1862. By exchange, three pieces of Bryan money, three very rare "hard time tokens," four medals of the St. Louis Fair, four very rare specimens of Bolen's work, the Assay Medal of 1874, the medal of the Patent celebration of 1891, and two replicas of very rare colonial coins.

By purchase: a volume of photographs of members of "The Club" Boston, 1818.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Endicott Peabody Saltonstall, of Newton, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Editor reported the following accessions of manuscripts:

By gift: from Mrs. F. Gordon Dexter, a merchant's ledger, accompanied by the following note:

171 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS,
March 21, 1920.

Worthington C. Ford, Esq.,

You did me the favor last week of coming to my house to see an Account Book kept from 1735–1756, by Gardiner Greene, the Father of my Mother, Martha Babcock Greene-Amory.

You will now do me a greater favor if you will allow me, through you, to make a Gift of this Book to the Massachusetts Historical Society, as you have assured me it would be valued there.

Believe me yours very sincerely and in deep memories,

SUSAN GREENE AMORY DEXTER.

The volume is of great interest in itself for its record of commodities, prices and other items of economic interest, and also gives the names of many prominent Bostonians of that day and their dealings with Mr. Greene. The volume is notable for the beautiful penmanship and its perfect condition.

From Mrs. Charles P. Coffin (Grace Parkman) a series of letters from Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier to her father, Francis Parkman, upon subjects connected with his histories.

From Dr. Arthur W. H. Eaton transcripts of a large number of letters of the Byles family obtained by him from Halifax, Nova Scotia, together with his notes on the correspondence and on the family.

From Charles E. Goodspeed a bill of sale, 1699, of Robert Lattimer of New London, Connecticut, for the sloop *Swan*, and a bill of sale, 1703, of James Barton, ropemaker of Boston, for one-eighth of the brigateen *Friends' Adventure*.

From Miss Eleanor Hassam, of Salem, further papers of the Hassam and Hilton families.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced the death of Andrew McFarland Davis, and sketched briefly his connection with and services for the Society and called upon Mr. EDES, who said:

Worcester is not alone among our New England towns in having had within its borders families which have not only impressed themselves strongly upon their own community, but through several generations have sent forth sons who have occupied high public station in other States with honor to the Commonwealth and to themselves. We need only recall such families as Lincoln, Paine, Salisbury, Chandler, Bancroft and Davis, from three of which, at least, our late associate Andrew McFarland Davis traced his lineage.

A native of Worcester, he was born on the thirtieth of December, 1833, the son of "Honest John Davis" and grandson of the Reverend Dr. Aaron Bancroft, who married the younger daughter of John Chandler the Loyalist, fourth of the name, whose sobriquet was "Tory John."

After graduating at the Lawrence Scientific School in the Class of 1854, Mr. Davis was engaged for a short time in civil engineering in the South and the Middle West, where he was also connected with railroad interests, especially with Erie, and made the first freight schedule used in the United States. He then studied law and was admitted to the New York and Massachusetts Bars. Later he went to California, and became a partner in the business enterprises of his brother, Horace Davis, then and subsequently one of the most eminent and useful citizens on the Pacific slope.

While in San Francisco, Mr. Davis was active in municipal affairs, especially in connection with the public schools, having been President of the Board of Education. At the close of a successful business career, about thirty years ago, he returned to Massachusetts and settled in Cambridge, which was ever after his home. For a few years he was Vice-President of the Prudential Fire Insurance Company of New York, having his office in Boston.

After his retirement from active business, Mr. Davis was enabled to indulge his natural taste for historical and antiquarian research, and wrote valuable papers on a variety of subjects for this and other learned societies and for the *Narrative and Critical History of America*. He was especially interested in finance and published several volumes on currency and banking in Massachusetts, and the origin of the national banking system, beside two profusely illustrated monographs on Chinese paper money, which he wrote for the American Academy. His volume, entitled *The Confiscation of John Chandler's Estate*, published in 1903, elicited much favorable comment. Mr. Davis was deeply interested in the history of Harvard College, and printed several papers upon subjects connected therewith. He also made a close study of the early records of the University and of the location of the early grants and buildings.

Harvard recognized Mr. Davis's accomplishment in his-

torical research by conferring upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts, in 1893, and the Harvard Chapter of Φ B K elected him to honorary membership in 1895. In 1882, he was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society, of which he was for nearly twenty years an officer and for the last ten years a Vice-President. At the time of his death his name stood third in seniority on the Roll. Mr. Davis joined our fellowship in October, 1898, and until his health became delicate he was a frequent contributor to our *Proceedings*. He was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a member of several State and other historical Societies, including the Cambridge Historical Society, of which he was also Vice-President.

Mr. Davis was an incorporator of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and a Vice-President at the time of his death. He had served the Society as its first Corresponding Secretary, and for twenty-seven years was one of its most active, loyal and generous members.

In two of our older organizations Mr. Davis had an unusual, if not a unique, hereditary interest — the Society of Φ B K and the American Antiquarian Society. His grandfather, Dr. Bancroft, of the Harvard Class of 1778, was a classmate of Elisha Parmele — to whom was granted the charter for establishing at Cambridge the Alpha Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa in Massachusetts — and was one of the earliest members of the Chapter; his father, Governor Davis (Yale 1812) was a member of the Yale Chapter; while the names of his brother Horace of the Harvard Class of 1849, of his two sons, Bancroft Gherardi ('85) and Horace Andrew ('91) and of his grandson, Hallowell Davis, ('18) were, with his own, borne on the Roll of the Harvard Chapter. Thus, Mr. Davis's immediate family has been, through five generations, uninterruptedly in fellowship with the Society from its establishment in Massachusetts until to-day. Of the Antiquarian Society, Dr. Bancroft was a Charter member (1812) and a Councillor or Vice-President for nearly twenty years; Governor Davis, who for a score of years had served the Commonwealth with distinction in Congress, in the United States Senate, and as Governor, was for thirty years Councillor, Vice-President and President, until his death in 1854; and George Bancroft, Mr. Davis's uncle,

long honored the position of Vice-President of the Society, which, as already mentioned, our late associate held at the time of his decease on the twenty-ninth of March. Mr. Davis's elder brother, John Chandler Bancroft Davis, a prominent figure in the Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva, was also a member.

Mr. Davis's personality was striking and remarkable, and while, like most strong characters, he had many staunch and devoted friends, strangers were sometimes repelled by his bluntness. Among his warm admirers was our late associate Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who had known him from childhood. He once said to me, in his gentle way, "I have known but few men who have improved their opportunities for cultivating their minds more sedulously and successfully than our friend, but, from his earliest youth, Mr. Davis has had a certain roughness of manner which he has never altogether laid aside." While we must admit the truth of this observation, those of us who best knew Mr. Davis realize that his brusqueness was all upon the surface, and that his heart was tender and sympathetic as a woman's. The singular sweetness of his smile lighted up his face like a burst of sunshine. If his frankness occasionally seemed harsh, we felt sure that it expressed his honest thought, and when he spoke in commendation we were equally sure that he was indulging in no empty compliment. His remarkable sagacity and success in business enabled him to indulge the generous impulses of a benevolent nature, and no appeal for a deserving cause or for the relief of suffering humanity was ever unheeded, for the spirit of helpfulness was ever uppermost in his thought.

His interests were in no wise limited to his historical pursuits; he was an extensive and intelligent traveller and his descriptions of places and people he had seen were most entertaining. Blest as he was with a keen sense of humor, his tales of the ways and days in the Worcester of his boyhood, accompanied by mimicry of some of the old town worthies, will be long remembered.

Mr. Davis was a striking example of the type of New Englander now almost passed away — strong, steadfast, if sometimes a little given to objections yet always fair-minded and

open to conviction, generous, warm-hearted, loyal, capable of deep devotion, a

> Friend to truth! of soul sincere,
> In action faithful, and in honour clear;
> Who broke no promise, serv'd no private end.

Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting, and

Mr. ENDICOTT read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

As you all know the Massachusetts Historical Society was founded in 1791 and during the many years of its existence has never appealed to the public for funds in order to protect its many valuable books, manuscripts and collections. When this building was erected in 1899, it was thought to be fireproof and to have ample storage capacity. But time has changed all that, and today we are faced with two facts — the building is not sufficiently fireproof and the collections have outgrown the storage capacity of a building ill adapted to its needs. No changes in the existing building could provide more than temporary relief, and that would delay the permanent location of material in its due sequence and relation. The library is so overcrowded that books of some value have been placed in wooden shelves in the basement, while others have been kept on wooden shelves on the wall of the library. The Winthrop, Parkman and Sibley manuscripts are in wooden cases, and not in the fireproof stacks, where many of our valuable manuscripts are deposited. Our historical collections for want of space are exhibited in such a manner that the stranger has the impression that the collections do not amount to much, while in reality when arranged in proper surroundings, they would be of great historical interest and value.

In April, 1919, a committee was appointed to raise funds to "erect and fit with modern library equipment a stack building, absolutely fireproof in which its library and manuscripts will be placed." In March, 1920, an appeal was issued to the public.

It is too early to report results, but in view of our needs and the justice of the cause, it does not seem possible that the money will not be subscribed to aid the Society in the development of plans which have become a necessity. It is not the plan of the Committee to conduct an active campaign for this purpose, but merely to give an opportunity for friends, whether members of the Society or not, to assist us in protecting our collection.

A special exhibit of the manuscripts, printed books and coins, in twenty steel cases, was opened on February 12, and will remain open for some months. During the three weeks after the opening, upwards of five hundred visitors attended the exhibition and showed much interest, as is proven by the fact that the Society has since received gifts and deposits of valuable material. By showing what collections the Society owns and by demonstrating what class of records should be preserved and the best manner of preserving them, we can do an immense amount to educate people who are interested in historical work. It is proposed to hold similar exhibits from time to time, which will include loaned books and manuscripts as well as those of the Society, and to maintain a permanent exhibit of typical manuscripts.

During the year, the publications were a volume of *Proceedings*, Vol. LII in the series, and the first volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, 1715–1717. Through the generosity of William Bradford Homer Dowse, a gift was received by which we were able to start this important historical undertaking — important because it will enable the investigators to study these legislative records so essential to State, local and family history. It is proposed that one volume a year be printed under this fund, and that the Journals be reprinted up to the year 1780.

Photostat reproductions of more than 20,000 prints have been made during the past year, and cover a variety of subjects, as will be seen from the following:

The *Boston News Letter* has been completed to the end of 1743, making thirty-nine years in all.

English and American broadsides (150 in all) have been printed for subscribing libraries.

A translation (in manuscript) of an unpublished essay on a "New System of Theology" by Voltaire.

A Catechism in Testerian hieroglyphics, made for the Mexican Indians, and a Cajahon manuscript, in the Bowditch series.

The records of the Church of Plymouth, Mass., in three volumes.

The records of the Church of Milton, Mass., 1861–1918.

In addition our machine has been employed in copying for investigators and correspondents such data as they require, thus enriching the collections of the Society by what could not otherwise be obtained. During the last summer the operator visited the Library Company of Philadelphia to photograph rarities relating to Massachusetts or the War of Independence, and used more than eight hundred plates. As far as can be learned, none of this material exists in any library in Massachusetts. The thanks of the Society are due to the Library Company for its courtesy.

The war involved the destruction of valuable libraries as is especially shown in the case of the University of Louvain. The great libraries of England, France and Italy removed their treasures to places of safety. In order to prevent the destruction of material in Europe relating to American history, the New York Public Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the John Carter Brown Library adopted a plan of reproducing such material as there was in Europe relating to American history, often found in a single copy. Photographic copies of books and manuscripts were obtained from Europe and were then reproduced by our photostat.

The subjects for reproduction were obtained from the Bodleian, Public Record Office, London Society of Antiquaries, the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale in France, the Bibliothèque Royale of Brussels, and from various Spanish and Italian libraries. The first reproduction was sent out in August, 1919, and by April, 1920, twelve volumes were completed and distributed. The nature of the material is indicated by the following titles:

Letter of Columbus (two issues) 1493.

An oration by Almeida on the Embassy of Obedience of Portugal, 1493.

Letter of Vespucci, 1504 and 1507.

Bull of Alexander VI, 1511 (dividing the new world between Spain and Portugal).

Cortes' first two letters summarized in French, 1523.

Poem by Pietro Arias, 1525 (on Pizarro's expedition).

Alfonce, Les Voyages Avantureux, 1559.

Briefe Declaration in the Present State of Things in Virginia, 1614.

Carré, Échantillon, 1690 (the first book printed in Boston in French).

Loyalty Vindicated, 1698 (a tract relating to New York, but printed in Boston and paid for by the Province).

If it was wise to reproduce valuable material found in European collections, it was thought to be equally wise to reproduce such material when found in American libraries. Consequently it was decided to include the collections of Mr. Henry E. Huntington, of New York, and Mr. William L. Clements, of Michigan, whose private libraries are notable for their size and quality. With these five libraries, strong in early Americana, as a foundation, five other libraries, in different parts of the country were invited to participate — the Library of Congress, the Library of Yale University, the American Antiquarian Society, the Newberry Library and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. No two libraries are in one locality, and thus a fair distribution is obtained.

In the coming year, other issues will be made of these rarities of Americana, laying the foundation of a collection extremely valuable in itself, and admirably adapted to special study.

The number of acquisitions increase yearly, and large additions have been made to the files of the Massachusetts newspapers.

Our books, manuscripts and newspapers need constant care and attention. The Society once more has an expert repairer and each year an immense amount of work is done to put in proper condition our unique records.

While reporting upon what has been done in the past year, the Council has not overlooked the fact that our work should be broadened, and, in order to accomplish this, special funds should be established by our friends and members, to enable the Society to maintain its high standard of efficiency.

The contemplated fireproof addition to our building will solve many existing and difficult problems.

WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

In presenting his annual report Mr. LORD said:

A brief statement of the financial condition of the Society, summarizing and supplementing what is set forth in full detail in the Treasurer's report may be of interest.

The property of the Society may be divided conveniently as follows:

1. The Land and Buildings, which stand on the books at $97,990.32 and are valued by the City Assessors at $196,000.

2. The Library and Collections have never been appraised.

3. The Investments of the Society are carried on the books, as appears in the Investment Account, Exhibit 1, of the Treasurer's Report, at $544,513.95, an increase in the invested funds the past year of $31,612.98. Of this sum the two Centenary funds amount to $84,259.09, of which $77,550.48 is the principal of the Sibley Centenary Fund and $6,708.61 is the principal of the Anonymous Fund. Under the terms of the bequests the income of these funds must be added to the principal until the expiration of one hundred years from the date of their receipt, or, in the case of the Sibley Fund the year 2002, and in the case of the Anonymous Fund the year 1991.

The income of the Society from its Investments credited the past year was $29,602.81. From this income must be deducted the income of the two Centenary funds, which under the terms of the gifts are to be added annually to the principal, amounting to $4012.34, and leaving a balance of income from investments available for the purposes of the Society under the term of gift of $25,590.47.

May I take this opportunity to call to the attention of the Society some facts which are suggestive and may be helpful in the determination of the future policy of the Society.

Of this substantial amount of invested funds from which the Society receives its only certain income, approximately $84,000 is invested in the Centenary funds, the income of which

is not available for the purposes of the Society for eighty years. The accumulated income of the funds applicable only to specific purposes, and by reason of the frugality of the expenditures in the past or the fact that the application of the income was so strictly limited that it made it almost impossible to judiciously expend the income in any given year, now amounts to $55,000. The history of these funds and the purposes to which the income is applicable is fully stated in the treasurer's report for the year ending March 31, 1910, *Proceedings*, Vol. XLIII, 529, and will justify a careful perusal, and furnishes an interesting illustration of the not uncommon mistake of a too strict limitation in a gift or bequest to certain specific purposes.

The only certain income is the income from invested funds. The gross income of the last two years has been largely increased by the Dowse gift and by the receipts from the sale of publications, electrotype plates, and duplicate books and newspapers, and of course cannot be considered as a permanent source of revenue. That is a shallow cistern and will yield hereafter a scanty, short supply.

Speaking generally the regular income of the Society may be considered as some $26,000. The fixed charges which include the care and maintenance of the building, the salaries, and certain necessary miscellaneous expenses, are approximately $18,000, which leaves a balance, therefore, of $8,000, to which may be added with safety, perhaps, the sum of $1,000, receipts from the sale of publications. Last year we spent approximately for

Printing	$4300
Binding	2400
Books	2800
Additions to Collections	2200
Making a total of	$11,700

This we were able to do because of the unusual receipts from the sources before mentioned.

The public service of this Society must be exercised in two directions; first, in the additions to its library and cabinet; second, in its publications. The income from the funds alone

for the reasons mentioned will not permit in the future an equal extension of the work of the Society in either of the directions named.

REPORT.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII, Article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1920.

The special funds now held by the Treasurer are thirty-two in number. A list of these funds, with the income and expenditure of each fund the past year, appears in Exhibit V in this report. An account of twenty-nine of these funds, giving a brief history of each fund, will be found in the Treasurer's Report for the year ending March 31, 1910 (*Proceedings*, XLIII. 529); the thirtieth fund is described in the Treasurer's Report for the year ending March 31, 1911 (*Proceedings*, XLIV. 568). The bequest of Mrs. Charles Card Smith, amounting to the sum of Fifteen Thousand Dollars, has been received and the fund has been established in the name of the Charles Card Smith Fund, being the thirty-first fund, the income of which fund under vote of the Society, is to be applied by vote of the Council to promote the objects for which the Society was founded. Special fund number thirty-two has been established this year under the name of the Adams Fund. This fund now amounts to $17,781.79, being the receipts from the royalties on the *Autobiography* of Charles Francis Adams and the *Education* of Henry Adams. The income of this fund is to be applied under vote of the Society to the General Account until the further order of the Council.

The receipts from the Photostat were $3724.60 and the expenditures were $4162.47, leaving a deficit of only $437.87.

Mr. Dowse has provided for the second volume of the Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, to be issued under the terms of his gift.

The Treasurer has received contributions in aid of the Society's Building Fund amounting to $8840.00, which is deposited in the Old Colony Trust Company as a separate deposit.

INVESTMENTS.

SCHEDULE OF BONDS.

Rio Grande Western R. R. Co.	4%	1939		$5,000.00
Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co.	4%	1959		3,000.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995		14,500.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995	"adjustment"	9,000.00
Chicago Jct. & Union Stock Yards	5%	1940		10,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	5%	1946		10,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	4%	1929		10,000.00
Boston & Maine R. R. Co.	4½%	1944		6,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	4%	1929		10,000.00
Northern Pacific & Gt. Northern R. R.	4%	1921		50,000.00
Long Island R. R. Co.	4%	1949		6,000.00
New York Central & Hudson River R. R.	4%	1934		15,000.00
Bangor & Aroostook R. R. Co.	4%	1951		10,000.00
Fitchburg R. R. Co.	4%	1927		9,000.00
Kansas City, Clinton & Springfield R. R.	5%	1925		3,000.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. R. R.	5%	1923		2,000.00
Washington Water Power Co.	5%	1939		10,000.00
United Electric Securities Co.	5%	(1)		25,000.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Elec. Co.	5%	1939		10,000.00
Western Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932		5,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.	5%	1929		5,000.00
Detroit Edison Co.	5%	1933		5,000.00
U. S. Steel Corporation	5%	1963		5,000.00
Boston Elevated Railway	5%	1942		8,000.00
New England Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932		10,000.00
Connecticut Power Co.	5%	1963		10,000.00
Boston & Albany R. R. Co.	5%	1938		10,000.00
Cleveland Short Line R. R. Co.	4½%	1961		10,000.00
Arlington Gas Light Co.	5%	1927		10,000.00
United Elec. Lt. & Power Co.	4½%	1929		10,000.00
Wilmington City Electric Co.	5%	1951		5,000.00
Old Colony Gas Co.	5%	1931		5,000.00
Dedham Water Co.	5%	1935		5,000.00
Railway & Light Securities Co.	5%	1946		5,000.00
Plymouth Electric Light Co.	5%	1925		4,000.00
Père Marquette R. R.	5%	1956		15,000.00
Père Marquette R. R.	4%	1956		2,000.00
New Bedford Gas & Edison Light Co.	6%	1922		5,000.00
United States Liberty Loan, "Second"	4¼%		"converted"	10,000.00
United States Liberty Loan, "Third"	4¼%			18,000.00
United States Liberty Loan, "Fourth"	4¼%			10,000.00
United States Victory Loan	4¾%			10,000.00
Western Union Tel. Co.	5%	1938		10,000.00
United States Liberty Loan, Second	4¼%			13,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	6%	1922		7,000.00
			Par value	$429,500.00

[1] 1936, 1939, 1940 and 1942.

Schedule of Stocks.

50	Merchants National Bank, Boston	$5,000.00
50	National Union Bank, Boston	5,000.00
50	Second National Bank, Boston	5,000.00
50	National Shawmut Bank, Boston	5,000.00
35	Boston & Albany R. R. Co.	3,500.00
25	Old Colony R. R. Co.	2,500.00
25	Fitchburg R. R. Co. Pfd.	2,500.00
150	Chicago Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yards Co. Pfd.	15,000.00
75	American Smelting & Refining Co. Pfd.	7,500.00
158	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co. Pfd.	15,800.00
302	Kansas City Stock Yards Co. Pfd.	30,200.00
10	Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co.	1,000.00
6	Boston Real Estate Trust	6,000.00
5	State Street Exchange	500.00
200	Pacific Mills	20,000.00
52	Puget Sound Traction Light and Power Co. Pfd.	5,200.00
5	" " " " " " " Common	500.00
50	American Tel. & Tel. Co.	5,000.00
50	American Sugar Refining Co. Pfd.	5,000.00
1348	Shares . . . . . Par value	$140,200.00

Schedule of Savings Bank Books.

M. A. Parker Fund	$1,430.10
Brattle St. Church Model Fund	249.96
	$1,680.06

Recapitulation.

Bonds, par value	$429,500.00
Stocks, par value	140,200.00
Savings Bank Books	1,680.06
	$571,380.06

Balance Sheet, March 31, 1920.

Investment Account, Exhibit I	$544,513.95	Funds, Exhibit II	$492,901.31
Cash on hand, Exhibit IV	3,355.36	Accumulated Income of Funds, Exhibit III	54,968.00
	$547,869.31		$547,869.31

EXHIBIT I.

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Balance, April 1, 1919		$512,900.97
Added during year:		
$10,000 Victory Bonds	$10,000.00	
10,000 Western Union Telegraph Co. 5%	8,545.00	
7,000 American Tel. & Tel. Co. 6%	6,947.50	
13,000 Liberty Bonds, Second 4¼%	11,872.90	
13,000 Liberty Bonds, Third	12,174.50	
50 Shares Pacific Mills	7,500.00	
Accrued Interest M. A. Parker Savings Bank Book	62.21	
" " Brattle St. Church Model Bank Book	10.87	57,112.98
		$570,013.95
Less		
$30,000 United Zinc & Chemical Co.		25,500.00
Balance, March 31, 1920		$544,513.95

EXHIBIT II.

INCREASE OF FUNDS IN YEAR 1919–1920.

Amount of Funds, April 1, 1919		$459,107.18
Added during year:		
Centenary Funds:		
Anonymous Fund	$319.46	
J. L. Sibley Fund	3,692.88	
Charles Card Smith Fund, balance bequest	12,000.00	
Adams Funds, Royalty receipts	17,781.79	33,794.13
Total of Funds, March 31, 1920		$492,901.31

EXHIBIT III.

ACCUMULATED INCOME OF FUNDS.

Balance Accumulated Income, April 1, 1919	$55,592.11
Income during year, Exhibit IV	41,075.84
	$96,667.95
Expenditures during year, Exhibit IV	37,687.61
	$58,980.34
Less additions to Centenary Funds	4,012.34
Balance, March 31, 1920	$54,968.00

EXHIBIT IV.

Cash Account.

Balance on hand, April 1, 1919			$1,798.32
Receipts during year to March 31, 1920:			
Sales by Library:			
Publications	$1,136.94		
Photostat	3,724.60		
Sales of Duplicates	7,141.89		
Sale of Electros	445.18		
Royalties, Little, Brown & Co.	3.10		
Gift of W. B. H. Dowse	1,200.00	$13,651.71	
Less Transfer to Adams Fund		2,525.16	
Credited to General Fund Income		11,126.55	
Interest on Bank Balances		273.40	
" " Savings Bank Books		73.08	
Income from Investments		29,602.81	
Total Income, Exhibit V		$41,075.84	
Credited to Income of Various Funds			$37,063.50
" " Principal of Centenary Funds			4,012.34
Balance Legacy of Charles Card Smith			12,000.00
Adams Fund. Receipts from Houghton & Mifflin Co.		$15,256.63	
Transferred from General Fund		2,525.16	17,781.79
			$72,655.95
Charges during year to March 31, 1920:			
Investment Account: Purchases, Bonds, and Stocks		$57,039.90	
Added to Savings Bank Deposit		73.08	
		$57,112.98	
Less United Zinc Chem. Bonds sold		25,500.00	
Total Addition, Exhibit I		$31,612.98	
Income Account:			
Bindery	$1,195.86		
Binding	1,120.32		
Books, Pamphlets, Newspapers, and MSS.	2,854.67		
Building:			
Cleaning	$588.75		
Engineer	1,088.76		
Fuel	686.00		
Furniture	3,602.40		
Light	371.01		
Repairs	615.75		
Telephone	145.94		
Water	47.60	7,146.21	
Photostat		4,162.47	
Portraits and Medals		2,223.96	
Postage		151.46	
Carry forward		$18,854.95	$31,612.98	$72,655.95

CASH ACCOUNT — *Continued.*

Brought forward		$18,854.95	$31,612.98	$72,655.95
Printing:				
Proceedings, vol. 52	$1,463.46			
Illustrations and Reprints	425.37			
Henry Adams	662.04			
Book Plate	150.00			
House Journals	1,590.40	4,291.27		
Miscellaneous		533.25		
Salaries:				
Librarian and Assistants	$5,749.98			
Editor and Assistant	6,260.00	12,009.98		
Stationery		77.02		
Treasurer's office:				
Bond	$25.00			
Bookkeeper	1,000.00			
Safety Vault	60.00			
Certified Public Accountant	75.00	1,160.00		
Miscellaneous Expenses		761.14		
Charged Income of Funds, Exhibit V			37,687.61	
Total Payments				69,300.59
Balance on hand, March 31, 1920				$3,355.36

EXHIBIT V.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF FUNDS FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1920.

	Balance Mar. 31, '19	Income	Expenditures	Balance Mar. 31, '20	Principal of Funds
Adams		$602.19		$602.19	$17,781.79
Amory	$1,992.98	200.58	$195.00	1,998.56	3,000.00
Appleton	4,858.05	815.89	1,260.00	4,413.94	12,203.00
Bigelow	590.66	133.72	116.06	608.32	2,000.00
Billings	3,825.63	668.60	425.37	4,068.86	10,000.00
Brattle St.	139.09	10.87		149.96	100.00
Chamberlain	159.52	82.39	47.60	194.31	1,232.33
Dowse	250.08	668.60	659.98	258.70	10,000.00
Ellis	742.96	2,118.15	2,296.35	564.76	31,666.66
Frothingham	2,775.96	200.58		2,976.54	3,000.00
General	1,742.56	14,917.92	16,585.75	74.73	56,709.16
Hunnewell	2,657.62	334.30		2,991.92	5,000.00
Lawrence	870.52	200.58		1,071.10	3,000.00
Lowell	465.63	200.58		666.21	3,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust	6,050.34	668.60	923.96	5,794.98	10,000.00
Parker	19.41	62.21		81.62	1,000.00
Peabody	4,333.86	1,479.14	1,174.35	4,638.65	22,123.00
Salisbury	261.74	334.30	338.61	257.43	5,000.00
Savage	1,151.96	401.16	242.49	1,310.63	6,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley	600.20	1,504.92	1,505.73	599.39	22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	5,177.94	7,701.40	9,918.00	2,961.34	121,077.00
Slafter	266.26	66.86	6.00	327.14	1,000.00
Chas. Card Smith		597.79		597.79	15,000.00
Waterston No. 1	1,647.31	334.30	603.25	1,378.36	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	4,243.25	668.60	289.11	4,622.74	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	4,218.88	668.60		4,887.48	10,000.00
Waterston Library	69.69	259.09		328.78	3,875.14
R. C. Winthrop	4,471.12	668.60	800.00	4,339.72	10,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	458.84	158.10	100.00	516.94	2,364.66
Wm. Winthrop	1,550.05	334.88	200.00	1,684.93	5,000.00
Totals	$55,592.11	$37,063.50	$37,687.61	$54,968.00	$408,642.22
Sibley Centenary		3,692.88			77,550.48
Anonymous Centenary		319.46			6,708.61
Total Income, 1920		$41,075.84			
Total Funds, March 31, 1920					$492,901.31

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society as made up to April 1, 1920, have attended to that duty, and report that they find that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statements in his Annual Report.

They have engaged the services of Mr. Gideon M. Mansfield, Certified Public Accountant, who reports to them that he finds the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for, and that the trial balance is accurately taken from the ledger.

CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH,
HENRY H. EDES,
Committee.

Boston, April 8, 1920.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The Librarian reports that during the last five years there have been added to the Library:

	1916	*1917*	*1918*	*1919*	*1920*
Books	910	2,565	1,687	6,133	3,130
Pamphlets	1,436	1,296	1,516	1,001	1,083
Manuscripts, bound	84	155	27	166	125
Broadsides	54	96	181	909	147
Maps	10	25	14	16	4
	2,494	4,137	3,425	7,425	4,489

This total number of pieces offers an encouraging hope for the future growth of the Library. From time to time reports have been made of the most important gifts, purchases and deposits. The Library of Henry Adams has been placed on the shelves and catalogued. The Kingsmill Marrs Collection now numbers nearly fifteen hundred volumes, having received valuable additions from Mrs. Marrs since the gift from her was first recorded at the May meeting, 1919. It contains works in the fields of English history and biography, and will be kept together as a memorial collection, with an appropriate bookplate. Other accessions have found their way into the various divisions of the Library, while the rarer earlier volumes have added interest

and value to the many treasures which the Society has inherited from its long life of a century and a quarter.

Under a vote of the Council the larger part of the mass of duplicates, the accumulation of years, has been sold during the year, giving the Library a chance for a little expansion. But the overcrowded condition of the Library as a whole still presents difficulties in location. Such conditions emphasize the need of the proposed addition to the Society's building, in which ample provisions will be made for housing our possessions for years to come under the best fire-proof conditions.

Visitors and those making researches from the wealth of material which the Library has in store, have been given every attention and aid possible on the part of the Library staff — with the hope that the resources of the Society may at last come into their rightful and best service. It remains to provide adequate space for a reading-room with appropriate outfit.

As the Library has limited means for the purchase of books and manuscripts, it must depend largely for future accessions upon generous gifts and deposits. The Library needs the works of members, and their interest as well, to raise it to a higher degree of efficiency. Books of biography, of history, of reference, of early imprints, also others which would add value to our special collections, and manuscripts, will be welcome additions. The Society is grateful for whatever support members and friends have given; and rests in the hope that a larger and more complete service may be rendered in the education of the public.

JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE,
Librarian.

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER.

It has been the practice for several years to print in the *Proceedings* from month to month the full list of additions to the Cabinet and it therefore seems sufficient for this annual report to refer to those lists.

The greatest activity during the year has been in the department of coins, medals and currency, of which the Curator, Dr. Malcolm Storer, gives the following summary — "When I

was appointed curator of the coins in 1914 the collection consisted of 10,425 coins. After disposing of many duplicates it stood on May 1st, 1919, at 11,689. During the last year I obtained 155 new Massachusetts pieces, giving us a total of 1845 Massachusetts pieces."

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS,
Cabinet-Keeper.

BOSTON, April 8, 1920.

Mr. EDWARD GRAY read the

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY AND CABINET.

Your Committee have visited the Library and Cabinet under the helpful guidance of Messrs. Norcross, Storer and Tuttle and were impressed by the evidence of the want of proper space and facilities for receiving and preserving the printed and manuscript treasures of the Society. The existing shelving is occupied and there is no room available for more; the floors are used, but even that imperfect substitute for shelves has its limitations. It is becoming increasingly difficult to find a place for accessions or for carrying into effect an arrangement of the Library that will be permanent. The two notable accessions of the last year — the libraries of Henry Adams and Kingsmill Marrs — have been placed in the stacks and the Adams books have been catalogued; but there are many classes of the library eccentrically located and there is no possibility of making the system more elastic and proper for an historical collection under existing conditions. The Committee are convinced that the only true solution of the problem is the proposed addition of a stack to the present building. They do not undertake to suggest minor changes, as most of them must follow that improvement, and to its accomplishment the energies of the Society should be directed.

ROBERT G. SHAW
L. S. MAYO
EDWARD GRAY

Mr. ENDICOTT, for the Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, made a report, upon which a ballot was taken.

The officers are as follows:

President.
HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Vice-Presidents.
WINSLOW WARREN.
JAMES FORD RHODES.

Recording Secretary.
EDWARD STANWOOD.

Corresponding Secretary.
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Treasurer.
ARTHUR LORD.

Librarian.
JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE.

Cabinet-Keeper.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

Editor.
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Members-at-Large of the Council.
FREDERICK CHEEVER SHATTUCK.
CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS.
WILLIAM BRADFORD HOMER DOWSE.
WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW.
ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Mr. KINNICUTT read a paper on "The Pilgrims of Plymouth and the Indians" — to be published elsewhere.

THE HEREFORDSHIRE TRAGEDY.

The following chapbook, of unknown authorship, appeared early in in the eighteenth century, without imprint or other indication of place of issue. A copy is in the British Museum.

THE | *Herefordshire* TRAGEDY; | or, the CRUEL MOTHER-IN-LAW. | Giving | A full and true Relation of a Lady who living in *He-* |

refordshire, who was second Wife to a Merchant, | and he having a beautifull Daughter, this Lady never | loved her; and was so curel as to bargain with a Sea | Captain to take her beyond Sea.

Likewise how she was required by her own Son, in | whom she took great Delight, who wasted her Sub- | stance, and brought her to great Poverty, so that | she had not Bread to eat; but he still not being | satisfied, came to her for fresh Supplies, which she | could not grant him, so he resolved by some Means | or other to take away her Life; upon which he goes to a Lord's House, and takes from thence a golden | Cup, and gave it to his Mother to lock up; but she | thinking he would come to an untimely End, she | resolved to leave *England*, and therefore sold herself | to go beyond Sea. |

Also, when she came to *America*, she saw a young | Lady standing by the Sea-side, who happened to | be the Child she sold for a Slave; So going to her | to crave her Charity, the Lady bid her come in and | she would relieve her. The Mother making herself | known, the Lady freely forgave her; but her Con- | science troubled her so much for what she had done, | that in a short Time after she broke her Heart with | Grief and died. |

Licensed and Entred according to Order. [2]

The *Herefordshire* TRAGEDY, *&c.*

How the old Lady beats and starves the Child; and the Child upon her bended Knees ask'd her pardon if she had done any Fault.

LET every pious Christian lend an Ear,
Unto this Tragedy I mention here;
And Children who now disobediant are,
Take Warning now by what I shall declare.

In *Herefordshire* there lived a Lady bright,
She was the wife of a most wealthy Knight,
His second Wife she was, as we hear,
By his first Wife he had a Daughter dear.

The Baby being Motherless, we find,
Her Step-mother used her most unkind.
Of bitter Blows, and hunger she had share,
Which from this Infants Eyes drew many a Tear.

At length this Lady prov'd with Child, we find,
Which made her use the other more unkind:
At length this Child said to her Father dear,
Father, why is my Mother so severe?

How the Child complains to her Father of the barbarous and cruel Usage of her Mother.

FOR if I ask her for to give me Bread,
She cruelly will strike me o'er the Head:
And if the Servants they are kind to me,
She turns them from their Place immediately. [3]

The Father hearing this, he wept amain,
And instantly goes to his lofty Dame:
Saying, I pray what do you mean my Dear,
By using of my Infant so severe.

She had a Mother once, but now she 's none,
You shall not wrong her Child, tho' she is gone:
As God hath sent you Plenty, and to spare,
Why do you starve my tender Infant dear?

In a furious Rage she to her Husband said,
What has she told you that she wanted Bread?
I will reward her straight for what she's done,
I'll whip her till the Streams of Blood do run.

How the Ghost of the Child's Mother appeared to this Cruel Wretch, threatening her for her barbarous Usage of the Child.

ONE Night as she lay upon her Bed,
A Vision straight unto her appeared;
The Mother of the injured Infant dear,
Cloathed in white, which put her Soul in fear.

Thus spoke the Apparition to the Lady fair,
"You fill the Arms of my Husband dear;
But my dear Infant which to him I bore,
You starve it, tho' the Lord has sent you store.

But for my Child, which you do now oppress,
God hear's the Cries of the poor Motherless:
You 'll be repayed by your own Infant dear,
For using of my darling Child severe."

When thus the Spirit spoke it disappeared,
Leaving this cruel Wretch opprest with fear;
Who with the Fright in Labour fell that Night,
And was delivered e'er the Morning light. [4]

How she was delivered of a Boy, after which she slighted the Girl more than ever.

THE Child it was a Son, as we do find,
The Bells did ring for Joy, Bumpers of Wine
Past merrily for Joy this Babe was born;
But yet the other Child was held in scorn.

The Boy kept like to a Prince of Fame,
With Servants like wise to attend the same,
Cloathed in Gold and costly Jewels bright,
He was his Mother's darling and delight.

The Father seeing that his Lady fair,
Was to his little Daughter so severe:
He said, This in my Child, and therefore I
Will not let her suffer this Cruelty.

This Child was charming sure in every Case,
And she like wise was blest with heavenly Grace;
Upon her Heart she wore our Saviour dear,
No outward Pride, but inward Grace and Fear.

How the cruel Mother seeing her belov'd, agree'd with a Sea Captain to take her beyond Sea.

HER Step-mother seeing this Child belov'd,
By many Ladies bright, and gallant Lord,
She was resolved this child to make away,
So lays a Trap her Life for to betray.

She with a Captain bargained out of Hand,
A Slave to sell her to a foreign Land:
This cruel Captain, for the sake of Gain,
He takes this beautious Babe to cross the Main.

Where we will leave her, and we 'll now return
Unto her Father, who finding of her gone, [5]
Enquires for the Darling of his Heart,
The Mother said, I know not for my Part.

What can become of her, I do declare,
I'm griev'd for her, tho' I am so severe:
I would not have any Harm attend the Child,
If she's not found, I surely shall run wild.

The Father complains for the Loss of his Daughter, and dies with Grief.

THE Father of this tender Infant dear,
Finding no Tidings of his Child could hear,
In little Time with Grief he broke his Heart,
And now begins his cruel Ladies smart.

She soon forgot the tragick Part she 'd done,
Placing her chief Delight upon her Son:
As he grew up, all things as he did crave,
She let him have to keep him fine and brave.

At ten Years old he 'd curse her to her Face,
Minding her not at all in any Case;
And when to fifteen Years of Age he come,
Into all wicked Courses he did run.

Whoring, Cards and Dice was his delight,
Consuming of his Gold both Day and Night:
The Mother now begins to think upon
The cruelty she by the Child had done.

How her Son steals a Gold Cup, which she conceals.

ONE Day she speaking to him said, My Son,
What mean you by this wicked Course you run,
Then Damning her, he straight way to her said,
I purpose for to make you beg your Bread. [6]

He minded not her Sighs and bitter Cries,
Coming one Day to her for fresh Supplies:
She said, I have not Food to eat God knows,
So in a Passion straight from her he goes.

Unto a noble Lord that lived hard by,
Where on a golden Cup he casts his Eye,
Saying, if no Money she has got for me,
I will contrive to take her Life away.

So he takes the Cup and brings it to his Mother,
Saying, The Cup I stole this for to smother,
Take it I say and hide it out of Hand
If it must be so come dont disputing stand.

Her Son robs a House, commits Murder, and is hang'd.

WITH trembling Hands from him she took the Cup,
For fear 't would be found she lock'd it up:
While he and his Companions that same Night,
Contrived a Way to rob this worthy Knight.

They rob'd the House and kill'd two Serving-men,
Next Day was apprehended for the same:
Being then try'd for the same, were doomed to die,
Oft sheen seeing his Fate, she then did cry.

She told herself to go o'er the Sea,
So to *America* did take her way;
While Thousands went her dying Son to see,
These Words he did express when at the Tree.

Behold an unrelenting Sinner here,
Who from my Cradle had no Grace to fear;
My Mother train'd me to the Hight of Pride,
To forward me to Heaven I had no Guide. [7]

How the Mother goes beyond Sea, and meets with her Daughter-in-law, who she had so barbarously abused.

IN stead of Church to Balls and Plays she 'd go,
She ruined my Soul by doing so:
It is a dismal Story for to tell,
She brought me up a Fire-brand for Hell.

My Heart so stubborn is, it will not melt,
I have no Heart at all for to repent:
I fear the Lord unto me is severe,
For the Transactions of my Mother dear.

What Tongue could now his Mother's Grief impart,
To have a Son now with such Words depart:
But as I did relate to you before,
She was resolv'd to leave great *Britain*'s Shore.

She in *America* soon landed there,
Where soon she did behold the Lady fair;
Though she'd sent her an Infant o'er the Sea,
Her Mother knew her Face immediately.

How she craves, Charity of her Daughter, who kindly relieves her, tho' she had used her so cruelly.

SHE goes to her, and falls upon her Knees,
Saying, Lady fair, I crave your Charity:
Come in poor Soul, the Lady did reply,
I will relieve your sad Extremity.

She flew about the Lady's Neck and cry'd,
Pardon me Lady, for I am satisfied;
Instead of succouring me, as I here stand,
I ought to die, dear Lady, by thy Hand. [8]

Poor object, then the Lady fair did say,
What Harm have you now ever done to me:
If you ever wrong'd me in Deed or Word,
I forgive you in the Name of the Lord.

She answer'd You are the Daughter of a Knight,
I was indeed his second Lady bright,
And your Step-mother, who basely used thee,
And sold thee for a Slave beyond the Seas.

The Lady hearing this she wept amain,
Saying, Mother dear, I pray your Grief refrain:
Although so cruel you did prove to me,
I am resolved to help and succour thee.

This Kindness made her Conscience fresh to fly,
Into her Face, to think on the Cruelty:
Then she relates the the Story of her Son,
And how the Gallows it did prove his Doom.

Well, Mother dear, replyed the Lady fair,
The Lord has bless'd me here with Riches store,
And I 'll relieve you while that I have Life,
For to a wealthy Merchant I am Wife.

In little Time the Mother broke her Heart,
Death put an End to all her Grief and Smart:
Step-mothers, and all that's left in Care,
Of Friendless Babes, be not to them severe.

For God does for your Infants in Distress,
He does behold them tho' they 're Motherless:
So let this be a Warning to you all,
That now does hear this cruel Lady's fall.

FINIS.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. NORCROSS and TUTTLE.

MEMOIR

OF

CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN

BY WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN.

COL. CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN was born on October 28, 1829, in Paris, France, where his parents, Charles Russell Codman, the elder, and Ann McMaster Codman, while abroad were temporarily residing. On his father's side he was of English stock, being descended from Robert Codman, who appeared in Salem in 1637, and from John Winslow, who came over in the *Fortune* in 1623, and his wife Mary Chilton Winslow, who came over in the *Mayflower* in 1620. His mother's ancestry was, on her father's side, Scotch, and on her mother's, Dutch, through both the Deys and the Van Buskirks. John and Mary Chilton Winslow removed to Boston in 1657, and Stephen Codman, a son of Richard, settled in Charlestown about 1680. John Codman, a son of Stephen, married Parnell Foster, a great-granddaughter of John and Mary Chilton Winslow. The mingling of these strains of blood, English, Scotch and Dutch, produced a singularly vigorous, aggressive, and persistently independent personality.

Colonel Codman's grandfather, John Codman, was a successful Boston merchant, and his grandmother was the daughter of James Russell, a solid citizen of Charlestown. The family home was on Chestnut Street, well down the slope of Beacon Hill, the spacious mansion being occupied in recent years for a time by Edwin Booth and for many years by Hopkinson's School. *Time and the Hour*, in a sketch of Colonel Codman at the age of seventy, in its readable list of "Famous Persons at Home," has this to say about it:

Charles Russell Codman

The Codman family lived in that interesting house on Chestnut Street, which stands sidewise, opening on its own garden. It was ornamented with some of that purple glass which belonged to a period when a certain quantity imported from Europe and used in the best houses, developed this color owing to some impurity in the manganese. Some folk nowadays think purple glass was significant of the purple, or blue, blood of those who had it in their window frames, and suppose it was an intentional distinction. The house had a conservatory at the end of the garden — a rare thing in those days — and a statue before the front door, while the interior possessed a handsome winding staircase and double suites of rooms on either hand.

To this fine old house young Codman returned with his parents and in it spent the years of his boyhood. After sharing the instruction of Henry Cleveland, Judge Cushing, and Franklin Forbes in Boston, he was sent to Flushing, Long Island, to complete his preparation for college under Dr. Muhlenberg. "The three years under that good man's influence" were said to be "perhaps the most important of his life." In due course he entered Harvard College and was graduated in the Class of 1849. He proceeded to study law in the office of Charles G. Loring of Boston, a lawyer of wide practice and experience, and was admitted to the bar in 1852. For the next ten years, like many young men of his class and expectations, he did not engage in a general practice of the law, but employed his professional knowledge in the conduct of his own affairs, the care of trust estates and the like. Independent in fortune, the active years of his life thenceforward were devoted in ample measure to furthering the interests of the public; as churchman, as soldier, as Harvard man, and as a private citizen he never failed to respond to the call of duty. With his power of clear statement, of incisive argument and of forcible oratory, if necessity had compelled, and, but for a certain aloofness, if not coolness, of manner, Colonel Codman must have gone far both at the bar and in the world of politics. With these limitations, he yet never failed to respond to any genuine and urgent call to serve his fellow men, and in one capacity or another he was so engaged until the oncoming debility of a very advanced age obliged him to retire from all such activity.

Colonel Codman's earliest public service was rendered as a member of the Boston School Committee during 1861 and 1862. Those opening years of the Civil War also found him with other young Bostonians a member of the First Corps of Cadets, the captain of a company and adjutant. The Cadets were mustered into the service of the United States on May 26, 1862, and sent to Fort Warren in Boston Harbor to relieve the garrison and to guard certain Southern gentlemen of distinction put there for safe-keeping. With them went Captain Codman as adjutant. "Soon after the Cadets were mustered out of service," writes a member of the Corps who served at Fort Warren, "in July, 1862, a movement was made to organize a regiment of volunteers for service in the war, to be officered by members of the Cadets. The regiment assembled at Readville for drill and formation. Captain Codman was the unanimous choice of the men for Colonel. While at Fort Warren he had displayed abilities as captain and adjutant. A strict disciplinarian, and a man of few words, he won the respect and esteem of all the members of the Corps. At all times just and impartial, courteous and dignified, he was the type of a true soldier. No one would presume to be familiar with him, and he was of a serious nature. It was his ability and devotion that won for him the popularity he enjoyed." This regiment, popularly known as the "Cadet Regiment," became the 45th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers and formed a part of the 18th Army Corps. It was engaged in the minor battles of Vinton and Whitehall, in North Carolina. Under his vigorous and efficient leadership, the regiment made a creditable record throughout its term of service, and was mustered out at the end of the enlistment period in July, 1863. This ended his military career.

Subsequently he entered upon a career of political activity, which, while resulting only in part in his filling elective office, reflected all of it great credit upon him and was of benefit to the cause of reform and clean politics generally. In 1864, he was sent from his senatorial district by a discriminating electorate to the General Court. He served in the Senate during the session of that year, and again in the year following, with credit, apparently, but without special prominence. Again, after an interval of seven years, he was sent to the Legisla-

ture, this time to the House, where he served with unusual credit and with increasing reputation from 1872 to 1875.

Colonel Codman's career in the Legislature, and subsequent political activity, has been adequately and sympathetically commented upon at length in a tribute rendered before this Society by Mr. John T. Morse.[1] While Colonel Codman during his two terms in the Senate did good work, in the House, as the Chairman of the important Committee on the Judiciary, he was a conspicuous success. "He was masterful," said Mr. Morse, "but neither despotic nor hasty"; he kept "an endless procession of bills moving rapidly and smoothly; especially he showed keen judgment and somewhat imperious decision in separating those which deserved consideration from the rubbish which belonged in the waste-basket"; "his manner was positive and decided, but he was invariably fair-minded, patient of argument, open to persuasion, courteous and kindly." With a gift of oratory "he did not once make what could be called a speech," yet, speaking in a businesslike and straightforward way, he influenced more votes "than could have been done by any other half dozen of our would-be orators." "Six years of service," continues Mr. Morse, "in the State legislative bodies enabled a man of his energy and ability to accomplish a great amount of useful work, and to win wide recognition and a high reputation throughout the Commonwealth." Such a man, independent in fortune, with a genuine talent for public work, with an extraordinary ability to sway the minds of men to do the right thing, coupled with a willingness divorced from self-seeking to devote his time and energies to promoting the common weal, should have been kept continuously in the service of the state and nation. His membership of the General Court, however, marked the end of a promising career as a lawmaker and office-holder.

After completing his last term in the Legislature Colonel Codman went abroad with his family, and by reason of domestic bereavement, did not return until 1878. In that year he began a long and honorable career in the immediate service of his alma mater. He first served as a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College for two terms of six years each, cover-

[1] *Proceedings*, LII. 87.

ing the years 1878 to 1890 inclusive. It was proof at once of the standing he had attained in the community at large, as well as of the estimation in which he was held in the college world, that upon his election in 1878 he was chosen president of the board and filled that office during the entire period of twelve years. Ineligible for a year at the end of that time for reëlection under the statute, a year later, in 1891, he was promptly reëlected to the board for another six years. During the interim before this last election, the Hon. Solomon Lincoln was made president and was not superseded in that office when Colonel Codman was elected for a third term. For these eighteen years of his life, Colonel Codman devoted his energies without stint to advancing and conserving the interests of Harvard University. A member of the Board of Overseers during the service of Colonel Codman as President writes of him that he remembered "several strenuous debates in the Overseers in my time, and Colonel Codman always showed to advantage as a presiding officer, ready, decided, courteous," and that while he "never had occasion to listen to the Colonel as a debater," having left the board in 1890, he had understood that "he took a prominent part in the meetings of his final term of service."

The same year that marked his entrance into the peaceful oversight of academic affairs also found Colonel Codman drawn into the strife of municipal politics. In 1878, he accepted the Republican nomination for the mayoralty of Boston. His Democratic opponent was Frederic O. Prince, a respectable lawyer, an amiable gentleman of the old school, and a traditional politician of the elder Democratic type. Meanwhile, Colonel Codman had become an independent Republican, was a reformer of sorts, and, especially, what was anathema to the spoilsmen, a civil service reformer, so that the odds were all against him in this attempt to purify city politics. In spite of these political drawbacks, he made a great fight, Mr. Prince becoming mayor by a very small margin of votes.

In 1880, Colonel Codman rendered a signal service to the cause of civil service reform, of which he was a consistent and ardent advocate, and but for which the merit system might have received a serious set-back at the hands of the spoilsmen. He was sent as a delegate to the Republican Convention of 1880 at Chicago. The Committee on Resolutions, in a majority

report, made no reference to the vital question of civil service reform, but on the floor of the Convention, James M. Barker of Pittsfield, afterwards Mr. Justice Barker of the Supreme Judicial Court, moved an amendment committing the party to it. Objections were made, and, says Mr. James Ford Rhodes: "The result looked uncertain, but Charles R. Codman, another Massachusetts delegate, made a vigorous remonstrance against an indicated tendency to shelve the subject, and, after some further discussion, the Civil Service Reform plank was adopted by a *viva voce* vote."

It was, however, in the Blaine Campaign of 1884 that Colonel Codman rendered his most notable political service to the country, and added greatly to his own reputation as a sturdy fighter and consistent reformer. It was very largely due to him and his fellow "Mugwumps," particularly to his combination in his own person of fighting capacity and shrewd political management, that Grover Cleveland was elected President. For the first time in a presidential campaign the vital issues were the Spoils System versus the Merit System, and Bribery and Corruption versus Purity, in the administration of national affairs. Many upright and leading Republicans decided to support Mr. Blaine, and clean house afterwards within the Republican Party; not so Colonel Codman and his independent associates. A meeting was held in New York of Independents and Civil Service Reformers, at the old University Clubhouse in Madison Square, and an organization was effected. Colonel Codman made a ringing speech of protest and defiance, and the campaign was launched. "The Committee of One Hundred," as the executive committee of the Mugwump movement was called, was formed, and Colonel Codman was made a member. His services on this committee in furthering and directing the campaign were brilliant and preëminent. He was a veritable Boanerges of the platform, his hammerlike oratory dealing smashing blows at the forces of reaction and corruption. His was not to "tickle the ears of the groundlings" through stump-speech oratory, but by appeals to the independent judgment of a sufficient number of lightly held party men of reforming proclivities to turn the election. In voice, manner and matter, he was a bold and most impressive speaker; disdaining the gentle art of persuasion, he flayed his opponents by forceful statement

and unanswerable argument. At his best, no more effective speaker ever mounted an American platform, but it must be conceded that his oratory swayed an audience in the proportion that intelligence and thoughtfulness predominated in it. As a result of this presidential campaign Colonel Codman became a Cleveland Democrat, but sturdily refused to accept office under the new Administration.

Later, in 1885, in the campaign in Massachusetts against the reëlection of Benjamin F. Butler as Governor, Colonel Codman's type of oratory, freely exhibited on many a platform, played an important part in the overthrow of that prince of demagogues and in the election of George D. Robinson.

Only once more did Colonel Codman enter the political field as a candidate for public office. He appeared for the first time as a Democratic candidate, but for a second time in the familiar rôle of leader of a forlorn hope. He had taken up his legal residence at Cotuit on Cape Cod, his summer home, subsequent to which, in 1890, he was induced to accept a nomination for Congress as a tariff reformer on the Democratic ticket from the Cape District. The district was overwhelmingly Republican and his opponent for the seat was a staunch and much-respected citizen of the city of New Bedford. Yet here again in the cause of tariff reform, and of other reform issues, Colonel Codman displayed the same vote-getting qualities in his appeals to the reason and sober sense of his audiences, and though his gallant fight did not win for him a seat in Congress but resulted in his defeat, he was not disgraced. This campaign marked the end of his political career and henceforth he was content to lead the life of a "typical, honored, independent citizen," though in other walks he continued in the service of his fellows.

Colonel Codman was a lifelong and devout member of the Episcopal Church, and served as a vestryman, and successively as Junior Warden and Senior Warden, of Trinity Church in the City of Boston for upwards of fifty years. He was elected a vestryman for the first time at the annual meeting of the Proprietors on Easter Monday, April 22, 1867. He became Junior Warden on April 14, 1873, and Senior Warden on April 4, 1904, rounding out his faithful service to the parish in that capacity in his 89th year on March 28, 1917. He rarely missed the

yearly meeting of the Proprietors on Easter Monday, and presided over that meeting as Senior Warden and at the meetings of the Vestry with great dignity. He was a great admirer and staunch friend of Phillips Brooks, and when as Warden it became his special care he showed a constant interest and took great pride in the upkeep of the fine church on Copley Square which is that great preacher's monument. It was only when declining years and failing powers made the burden and responsibility of the position too heavy that, at the close of his fiftieth year of service, he finally relinquished the office of Senior Warden.

Colonel Codman was elected to membership in this Society on April 13, 1893. He served on the Council during the years 1896–1898 inclusive, presenting its report to the Society for the year last named. Thereafter, he served the Society on the House Committee from 1899 to 1905 inclusive. His attendance upon the meetings of the Society and his service on Committees showed his interest in its work, and he frequently took part in the proceedings. At the May meeting of 1895 he rendered a tribute to the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, and subsequently wrote a memoir of him which in depicting the independent and non-partisan attitude while in office of that fine man and conscientious public servant might well be taken as an autobiographic sketch of his own rule of conduct towards public affairs. In October, 1911, he paid feeling tribute to his classmate, Gamaliel Bradford, and again, in November, 1913, as he was rounding out his 84th year, a like tribute to Thornton K. Lothrop, another classmate.

For many years, while that militant organization, the Massachusetts Reform Club, was doing effective educational work in civics and politics, Colonel Codman was an active participating member, and for a time served as its president. He was also a member of the Massachusetts Commandery of the Loyal Legion. He was at one time President of the Massachusetts State Homeopathic Hospital and of the Boston Provident Association; he was also a Trustee of the State Insane Asylum in Westborough.

Colonel Codman during the last years of his long and useful life lived during the winter in Brookline, but passed his summers at Cotuit on the south side of Cape Cod, where he died in

his 89th year on October 5, 1918. He was survived by three sons and two daughters, Russell Sturgis Codman, John Sturgis Codman, Julian Codman, Ann McMaster, wife of Henry B. Cabot of Brookline, and Susan Welles, wife of Redington Fiske of Needham.

MAY MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the President, the first Vice-President, Mr. WARREN, occupied the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and accepted.

The Librarian reported

The gift of a rare tract, *A Table for the ready turning any old Tenor Sum, into Lawful Money*, Boston, 1750, a pamphlet of sixteen pages, from Dr. Jameson, a Corresponding Member. It bears the names, in writing, of Elijah Wyman and Samuel E. Wyman, Woburn, November 27, 1793. The Library already had similar tables, printed in 1750, one a pamphlet of twelve pages, and the other a broadside. The Librarian also reported the addition, by purchase, of *The English Physitian Enlarged*, by Nicholas Culpeper, London, 1656.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Henry W. Cunningham, a drawing made by D. W. Cunningham in August, 1849, of the front elevation of the residence of his grandfather, Andrew Cunningham, 25 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, who lived there from 1829 until his death in December, 1861, and whose widow continued to live there until her death in March, 1879. This house, built of brick, stood between Temple and Hancock Streets, and was torn down to make way for the extension of the State House. No. 23 was occupied by George P. Upham, and later Ezra Farnsworth; No. 27, by Peter Thacher Homer; and No. 29, on the corner of Hancock Street, not shown in the drawing, by Ozias Goodwin.

From Edwin H. Brigham, a photograph of a portrait of Rev. Samuel Mather, in possession of the Second Church, Boston.

From Mr. Norcross, a photograph of the old Wolcott Mansion, Litchfield, Conn.; one of the Block House of Fort Pitt, Pittsburgh, Pa., built in 1764; one of William Ellery, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; and an engraving of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, made for the Prince Society from a rare print in Holland's *Herwologia Anglica*, 1620.

By exchange, a piece of Bryan Money, bearing on one side "Sound

Money," and on the other a United States eagle displayed; the rare Confederate half-dollar minted in New Orleans in 1861; five Washington medals, seventeen medals of Grant, fifty-six of Lincoln, and fifteen miscellaneous; thirty-four Railroad checks; and thirty-nine embossed store cards. These include the rare "slave check" of Charleston, S. C.

From J. H. Storer, one hundred and fifteen coins and medals.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., of Boston, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary also reported the death of Paul Fredericq, a Corresponding Member of the Society, at Ghent, Belgium, on March 30.

The Editor reported the following accessions of MSS.:

By gift: from Henry Savage, a large collection of papers of Samuel Phillips Savage, 1711–1795, and of Charles Savage, 1800–1840. Samuel Phillips Savage was in a temporary trading partnership with David Jeffries in 1741, but soon became independent. He had commercial connections with Canada, Connecticut and London. In the War for Independence he was a member of the Massachusetts Board of War. While the papers are largely of a mercantile character there are abundant evidences of his interest in religion, in public events, detailed in letters to his wife, and in the welfare of his brother, Arthur, a loyalist residing in England after 1776. Charles Savage, a grandson of Samuel Phillips Savage, was a merchant in New Orleans, associated with his brother, W. H. Savage in St. Louis, and later was Consul of the United States in Guatemala. Some official publications of Guatemala are interesting.

From Dr. Edward H. Bradford, minutes kept by his grandfather, Charles Hickling, of the proceedings of a Committee of Vigilance formed in Roxbury to afford refuge and protection to nuns on the burning of the convent in Charlestown, December, 1834.

From Mrs. Charles H. Joy, two papers on the Old Brick Meeting House in Cornhill, 1807–09.

From Miss Virginia Stockwell, papers of Timothy Tileston (1782–1866) of Boston.

From Frank J. Wilder, a MS. Journal of E. W. Arnold, Jr., of Chelsea, 1849–1852. He records that he was twenty-four years of age January 3, 1852, the date of the last entry in the volume.

From Miss Mary E. Haven, six commercial papers of William Ballard of Framingham.

From George U. Crocker, a photograph of an inscription on a pane of glass in the window of the old tavern in East Saugus, and of a note upon it by Joseph Ballard.

By deposit: from Mrs. Morton Dexter, a letter of Nathaniel Morton of Plymouth, to Thomas Prence, April 2, 1658, and the pleadings of Thomas Dexter in his case against Nahant, August 24, 1657.

From William B. Clarke, a paper on Col. John Brown by Henry Van Schaick and a memoir of him by Murray Nelson.

From Dr. Arthur W. H. Eaton, copies of letters from Harrison Gray to Miss Catherine Byles, 1784–1788.

Mr. W. Warren also reported, on behalf of Mr. F. W. Denton, of Cambridge, the gift of a letter-book of Hector McNeill, appointed captain of the *Boston* by the Continental Congress in October, 1776, being third on the list and ranked only by James Nicholson and John Manley. The material relates to his command of the *Boston*, a ship of twenty-four guns. He is known for his sharp criticism of Manley.

Francis Russell Hart, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. Brooks Adams gave an outline of an essay on the development of the trust idea in property, to be printed later.

Mr. Stanwood called attention to some amusing entries in the *Journal of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, 1715–1717, recently published by the Society.

Mr. Dowse presented a copy of *Gradus ad Parnassum*, London, 1713, once owned by John Lowell and bought by his father, Rev. Edmond Dowse, of Sherborn, in 1827, and used by himself when he entered Harvard College in 1869. He gave an account of earlier associations with the Lowell family, and of his own appreciation of the work when at College.

Mr. Tuttle read the following letter from Mr. Washburn:

Worcester, May 10, 1920.

Dear Mr. Tuttle: On March 13, 1919, I presented to the Society a collection of framed photographs of Boston men who were in the Civil War. The collection contains two rows of photographs, six in the upper and six in the lower. Those upon the upper row are: James Jackson Higginson, Cabot Jackson Russell, William Lowell Putnam, Charles Russell Lowell, Henry S. Russell, Stephen G. Perkins; those in the lower row are: Wilder Dwight, James Savage,

Jr., James Jackson Lowell, Robert Gould Shaw, Charles Russell Lowell, Henry Lee Higginson.

There are two photographs of Charles Russell Lowell, the one in the upper row is of the head only, that in the lower is two-thirds length. Upon the back of the framed collection is the following inscription. "Presented to Charles G. Washburn of Worcester by Miss Elizabeth C. Putnam of Boston, and by him presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society on March 13, 1919." It had been my intention, which unfortunately was not effected, to get Major Higginson, the last survivor of the group, to speak about these men.

Upon the stone shaft at Soldier's Field in Cambridge is the following inscription:

To the Happy Memory of

James Savage	Stephen George Perkins
Charles Russell Lowell	James Jackson Lowell
Edward Barry Dalton	Robert Gould Shaw

Friends, Comrades, Kinsmen who died for their Country, this field is dedicated by Henry Lee Higginson.

Though love repine and reason chafe
There came a voice without reply,
'T is man's perdition to be safe
When for the truth he ought to die.

In *Hero Tales from American History*, published in 1895, by Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, is the story of Charles Russell Lowell's life by Senator Lodge, preceded by the following quotation from James Russell Lowell:

"Wut's wurds to them whose faith an' truth
On war's red techstone rang true metal,
Who ventered life an' love an' youth
For the gret prize o' death in battle?
To him who, deadly hurt, agen
Flashed on afore the charge's thunder,
Tippin' with fire the bolt of men
Thet rived the rebel line asunder?"

Senator Lodge quotes General Sheridan as saying: "I do not think there was a quality which I could have added to Lowell. He was the perfection of a man and a soldier."

Miss Putnam has recently published a small volume entitled, *Memoirs of the War of '61 — Colonel Charles Russell Lowell, Friends and Cousins*, which I take great pleasure in presenting, in her behalf, to the Society. It contains sketches of all the men who appear in

the framed collection of photographs. The following is the dedication: "To the young men of 1917 who so nobly risked their hopes of future usefulness, their health, their lives, to stand side by side with our Allies against tyranny and injustice abroad; to those who fell, and to those who survived to whom the future of our own country is now intrusted, — this collection of brief memoirs of the young men of 1861 is dedicated." Yours sincerely,

C. G. WASHBURN.

Announcement was made of the appointment of the following Committees:

House Committee: J. COLLINS WARREN, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, and JULIUS H. TUTTLE.

Finance Committee: WINSLOW WARREN, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, and CHARLES P. GREENOUGH.

Committee to publish the *Proceedings:* HENRY CABOT LODGE, JAMES FORD RHODES, and EDWARD STANWOOD.

It was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury, to be expended in such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. STORER and WENDELL.

MEMOIR

OF

HENRY FITCH JENKS

BY CHARLES EDWARDS PARK.

HENRY FITCH JENKS was born in Boston 19 October, 1842, the son of John Henry and Mary Rand (Fitch) Jenks. His father was a publisher. His grandfather, Rev. William Jenks, was minister of the Green Street Church, Boston.

He secured his education at the Boston Latin School, and at Harvard, where he took his Bachelor of Arts in 1862, and his Master of Arts in 1866, on graduating from the Divinity School.

On 10 April, 1867, he was ordained to the ministry and installed over the First Parish, Fitchburg, Mass. After trying out his powers in brief pastorates in Fitchburg, Charleston, S. C., Revere, and Lawrence, Mass., he finally found his life work and his permanent home in Canton, Mass., where he was settled 1 July, 1885, and where he remained through about twenty years of active and fruitful labor, followed by fifteen years of increasing ill health as Pastor Emeritus, until his death, 31 January, 1920.

Boston was not alone his birthplace, but ever remained his spiritual home. His interests were metropolitan. He was essentially a city dweller, and all the activities, the busy sights and sounds, the industry and alertness of a great city, were dear to his soul. His settlement in Canton was a peculiarly happy one, in that he was thus enabled to gratify one of the deeper tastes of his nature. To vegetate in rural detachment would never have suited him. He must be in the mid-current of human living.

At the same time, it is doubtful if urban life in any other city would have meant a tithe of what Boston life meant to

Henry Fitch Jenks.

him. It was perhaps not that he loved city life, so much as that he loved Boston. Its physical charm, its long and honorable history, its countless venerable institutions, both charitable and antiquarian, its intellectual vigor, its quaint provincialisms, its general atmosphere of age, and continuity, and solid self-respect — in all these ways the city made its appeal to him, and supplied the soil in which his nature took deepest root and found its most congenial nourishment. His election to the Massachusetts Historical Society was one of the happiest and proudest events in his life.

First and last, he was a member in something like forty-six of Boston's literary, historical, philanthropic or professional societies and associations. Of this number fully one quarter are especially indebted to him not alone for an interested membership, but for genuine downright service in some official capacity, either as secretary, vice president or director. And those who have had experience, well know how ardent and valuable such official service can be; how exacting and at the same time how thankless. Mr. Jenks had an unusual capacity for just such necessary, unrewarded service. In his hands it never became perfunctory, slipshod, careless. More than one of our venerable institutions owes its orderliness and well-being to the scrupulous fidelity and painstaking care of his management. And more than one of his associates will ever cherish a mental photograph of Mr. Jenks the secretary, as he hurries into an annual meeting, (they are usually crowded into the month of May,) his face streaming with perspiration, a bag of record books under his arm, and a faint all-inclusive smile of greeting on his face. His bag contains the records of the meeting he has just left, and the meeting he has still to attend, but he picks out the right book at once and opens it to show that all is in order: the records are written up, the items of business duly set forth, the various sub-committees have been forewarned of the reports expected from them, there is no hitch or delay. He had a genius for the work. He was a great saver of time to his grateful associates.

Here are some of the offices he held.

Boston Provident Association, manager.
Boston Latin School Association, director, and vice president.

Boston Lying-in Hospital, secretary, member of corporation.
Mass. Infant Asylum, director and vice president.
Mass. Evangelical Missionary Society, secretary.
Mass. Convention of Congregational Ministers, treasurer.
Mass. Congregational Charitable Society, secretary.
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity, secretary.
Young Men's Benevolent Association, director.
Home for Aged Women in Boston, director.
Home for Aged Men in Boston, member of Corporation.
Canton Public Library, trustee for seventeen years.
Class of 1863, Harvard, secretary 1902–1912.

He was a member of the American Antiquarian Society, and the last surviving Charter member of the Bostonian Society.

He was made honorary member of the Phi Beta Kappa, at Harvard.

As a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, to which he was elected 10 February, 1881, he assisted in editing the Letters between General Washington and Governor Trumbull, (5 *Collections*, X); was one of the committee to print Letters of Jonathan Belcher, (6 *Collections* VI, VII); and also the Trumbull Papers, (7 *Collections* II, III). He was appointed Cabinet-Keeper in 1898.

Mr. Jenks traveled widely and with great and intelligent enjoyment. He knew America exceptionally well, for a New Englander. With the American Library Association, of which he was a devoted member, he made several trips: In 1887, down the St. Lawrence, to Halifax, through the "Evangeline Country;" in 1889, down the Mississippi to New Orleans, and home via Mobile, Nashville, Chattanooga, Mammoth Cave; in 1891, across the Continent; in 1897, to England, Scotland and France, and in 1902, a six weeks' sojourn in England.

He liked to be able to say that he had visited all but ten states in the Union, and had virtually circumnavigated that portion of the country which lies East of the Mississippi.

He was married in Boston, 1 March, 1881, to Lavinia Hathaway Angier, daughter of Oakes Angier of Belfast, Maine. There are three sons: Henry Angier, born November 17, 1882; Charles Fitch, born February 12, 1884, and Frederic Angier, born December 3, 1886.

JUNE MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the President, and the first Vice-President, the second Vice-President, Mr. RHODES, occupied the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, several additions to the Kingsmill Marrs collection of English history and biography, among which are a presentation copy of Richard Sims' *Handbook of the Library of the British Museum*, 1854; R. W. Huntley's *Chavenage, A Tale of the Cotswolds*, 1648, London, 1845; and Fenwick-Metcalfe's *Visitations of Gloucester*, 1682–3, privately printed in 1884.

From Miss Sarah K. Burgess, of Dedham, two rare volumes, Matthew Mead's *The Almost Christian Discovered*, 14th edition, Boston, 1730, bearing the autograph signature, "Hannah Heuens Her Book 1741"; and Thomas Gwin's *A brief narration of the Life and Sufferings of John Peters*, who lived and suffered persecution in England, with the hope "to Transport himself and his Family to America," printed in 1709, having the autograph signature "Frances Daves hir Book."

From the Union Club, Boston, a collection of magazines and newspapers, 1918 to 1920.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From W. Sturgis Bigelow, a sword said to have belonged to King George III, bought by Dr. Bigelow in London thirty years ago. The mountings of the sword are silver gilt, and show that it was probably part of a royal uniform, to be worn, however, in the character of a king, and not as honorary colonel or general of a foreign army.

From Miss Ada A. Gilbert, of Brighton, a crayon portrait of Rev. Andrew Leete Stone (1815–92, Yale, 1837), minister of Park Street Church, Boston, 1849–61, made by her sister, Miss Helen Sewall Gilbert, a member of that Church.

From Miss Emma Rodman, a lithograph of Rev. Francis William

Pitt Greenwood, printed in colors by William Sharp in 1840, executed at the request of the Congregation of King's Chapel; a lithograph of John Thornton Kirkland, by Pendleton, after Gilbert Stuart; and an engraving of Daniel Webster by J. Cheney and R. W. Dodson after Richard M. Staigg.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, a photograph of Queen Victoria, in the sixtieth year of her reign; of Queen Elizabeth of Würtemburg, about 1903; and of members of the royal family of Italy, 1875 and 1900; and of the YD parade in Boston.

From Mrs. Frances W. Porter, a gold watch, and fob with seal, which were worn by her grandfather, James Savage (1784–1873), our former associate and President. The watch was made by Louis Mallet, Horloger du Duc d'Orléans, Paris, and is numbered 503. The seal consists of the initials "I. S." within the legend "Vitam impendere vero."

From Mary Baker Strong and Caroline C. Burlen, of Cambridge, a silhouette, by Doyle, of Elijah Corey, from whom Corey Hill, Brookline, was named; and an old-fashioned watch carried by him.

From Dr. James Brown Thornton, of Boston, a piece of wood from the manor house at Scrooby, brought home by John Wingate Thornton, and several coins from the Plain of Abraham, Quebec.

From Mr. Norcross, an impression on wax of a seal, showing the head of Napoleon, said to have been given by him to one of his officers, and which is now in the possession of George Clarendon Hodges.

From F. H. Shumway, a badge of the Vineyard Chapter, Royal Arch, and one of the Lodge of Odd Fellows, 1920.

From John H. Storer, a collection of coins and medals.

From Charles P. Greenough, a number of coins and Mexican notes.

By purchase: a portrait of Elizabeth Oliver (1738–1820), who married Edward Lyde, March 18, 1772, painted by Copley.

By deposit: from James Brown Thornton, a gold watch, formerly owned by James Brown Thornton, of Boston, Merchant, and a ring once a part of the watch chain of his father, Dr. Thomas Gilbert Thornton, of Boston, who was United States Marshal of the District of Maine.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Francis Russell Hart, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Editor reported the following accessions:

From Francis R. Hart, eleven photostat prints of charts, colored like the originals in his possession, showing the shifting positions of

the English and French fleets off the island of Dominica, on April 9 and 12, 1782, with a list of the British ships engaged and their flags and signals. The English fleet was commanded by Rodney, the French, by De Grasse. The action of the 9th was inconclusive, and the refusal of Rodney to pursue after his victory on the 12th involved him in a controversy with Hood. These plans, of great detail and technical finish, were prepared to illustrate the movements of the fleet on the days of battle.

From Mrs. Adelbert Ames and Mrs. Paul Butler of Lowell, a card index to all references to General Benjamin Franklin Butler found in the Boston Public Library. This index, remarkable for its size and completeness, was prepared by Henry Jefferson Moulton, and contains some 25,000 entries, covering every phase of General Butler's long and not uneventful career in public life. It will serve as an index to political and military history for a half century, and only an examination of it will indicate its scope. The sole condition attached to this gift is that it shall be freely open to students of history.

From Miss Ruth K. Richardson of Boston, a series of letters written by Rev. Joseph Warren (1765–1815) of Plymouth, to his college classmate, Rev. Thomas Gray of Jamaica Plain, from 1792–1810, some sixty in number. Miss Richardson is the great-granddaughter of Rev. Mr. Gray.

From Miss Emma Rodman, certificates of membership of her father, Samuel William Rodman, in the Bunker Hill Monument Association, 1833, and in the Pilgrim Society, 1835.

From William C. Endicott, a "Characteristic Epitaph upon James Sullivan, who died at Shirley, June, 1787," of unknown authorship.

From Miss Susanna Willard, two letters, written in April, 1873, descriptive of the division of the Henry Knox papers between Francis S. Drake and Henry K. Thacher.

From James Brown Thornton, a receipt, dated May 11, 1802, signed by Thomas G. Thornton.

By purchase: A diary kept by Rev. Hezekiah Smith (1737–1805) of Haverhill, August 1, 1773, to April 28, 1778. It is "bound" in a broadsheet of Harvard "Quaestiones," 1772.

The Vice-President announced a bequest of $3,000 from the estate of James Schouler, long our associate as a Resident and a Corresponding Member, the income of which is to be used for the purchase of historical manuscripts.

The Vice-President also announced the gift of $10,000 accompanied by the following letter:

To the President and Council of the
Massachusetts Historical Society
Boston, Massachusetts.

Gentlemen:

It gives me great pleasure to present from myself and my brothers, Grenville Lindall and Beekman, to the Massachusetts Historical Society Ten thousand Dollars as follows:

Frederic Winthrop, in Memory of Robert Dudley Winthrop	$2,500
Grenville Lindall Winthrop	2,500
Frederic Winthrop	2,500
Beekman Winthrop	2,500
	$10,000

to establish a Fund in Memory of our father, Robert Winthrop, to be known as the Robert Winthrop Fund. The principal of this Fund is to be invested and kept invested, and the income only to be used for the publication of papers written by Members of the Winthrop Family, or of papers relating to the Winthrop Family in Massachusetts and in Connecticut, or of research relating to the Winthrop Family in England before or during the Great Puritan Emigration to New England in the Seventeenth Century.

Should desirable material for such publication or research not be available during any year or term of years, the income shall be allowed to accumulate during such year or term of years until the income so accumulated shall amount in the aggregate to Ten thousand Dollars. These accumulations shall then be added to the principal, and the principal so increased shall be regarded as a new principal, which shall be invested and kept invested, and the income only used for such purposes of the Society as the President and Council of the Society shall from time to time determine — preference always to be given to the purposes for which this fund originally was established. Very truly yours,

FREDERIC WINTHROP.

The Vice-President then announced that Mr. Schouler's bequest, and the gift from Frederic Winthrop and his brothers, had been accepted by the Council on the terms and conditions as stated.

MR. FORD stated that the Winthrop collection of manuscripts, given to the Society by Robert C. Winthrop, Sr., and Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., constitutes the largest and most valuable collection of early colonial papers in existence. No other colony can

show so numerous, so important in themselves, or so widely related a series of letters, extending through five generations of men prominent in public affairs. Apart from the family interest, they possess great historical value, and hardly a name of moment in the first fifty years of New England history cannot be found in some form and often in a long series of communications. Though six volumes of selected letters have been printed, they do not begin to touch the material available. This generous gift now places it in the power of the Society to make a complete and systematic publication of the known Winthrop material, and thus fitly rounds out the gift of the manuscripts.

Robert Means Lawrence, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Edwin Francis Gay, of New York, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. NORCROSS then spoke as follows:

Soon after the great Boston fire in November, 1872, the following letter was received by registered mail by Mayor Gaston and turned over to my father who was the Treasurer of the Fire Relief fund:

Graham's, S. C.
Nov. 18 1872

To the Mayor and Aldermen
of Boston, Mass.

Gentlemen —

Enclosed please find One Thousand Dollars for the benefit of Those who were burned out at the recent fire.

Hopeing This will be rec'd with the *true* feeling, we are Gentlemen

Very truly
Yours etc
EX CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS.

The sum of One Thousand Dollars was enclosed—*in Confederate bills!!* I give the letter and the bills to the Society for preservation with other memorials of the Summer Street Fire Fund already in its possession.

Mr. WINSHIP submitted a note on

LETTERS OF JOHN ELIOT, the APOSTLE.

The Society's publications contain two series of letters written by John Eliot, printed in one case with no clue to show

where they came from, and in the other with this information, but without the important additional fact that the originals are still extant.

The first group consists of 9 letters written between 1670 and 1688 to Robert Boyle, Governor of the New England Company, the English missionary society which supplied most of the money used by Eliot during the latter half of his life. These form an important part of the third volume of the Society's *Collections*, issued in 1794, and were taken from the Appendix to Thomas Birch's *Life of Boyle*, London, 1744, pp. 430–449.

The other series of letters, written to Boyle and to Henry Ashurst, the Treasurer of the Company, are included in the *Proceedings* for November, 1879, having been crowded out of the second volume of "Early *Proceedings*," where they would naturally have appeared, under the date of July, 1852, when the copies were given to the Society. These are printed from a square memorandum book into which they were copied by "John Waddington, pastor of the church formed by Henry Jacob in Southwark," and are attested under seal of the legation of the United States by Abbott Lawrence, who certifies that he "has seen the original of the copies . . . and that the copies are true." He might have added that the originals, presumably at any rate then, as now, belonged in the archives of the Company, which is still an active missionary organization. They were again printed in 1896 by Governor John W. Ford of the Company, in a volume with the title:

Some Correspondence between the Governors and Treasurers of the New England Company in London and the Commissioners of the United Colonies in America, the Missionaries of the Company and others Between the Years 1657 and 1712, to which are added the Journals of the Rev. Experience Mayhew in 1713 and 1714, Printed from the Originals in the possession of the New England Company by Spottiswoode & Co., London, 1896. Privately printed.

In the *Proceedings*, the first letter is addressed to "Mr. Hord," and in *Some Correspondence* the name is given as "Lloyd," but the actual recipient was Richard Floyd, who was Treasurer of the English corporation during the first ten years of its existence, coincident with the period of the Protectorate.

The first volume of the *Collections*, 1792, contains another document which belongs with these letters. This is Major Daniel Gookin's *Historical Collections of the Indians*, written in 1674. This is printed from the original author's copy, belonging to the Society. Gookin's work was intended to be a continuation of the series of Eliot Indian Tracts, which now ends with the *Brief Narrative* of 1671. Another copy of his manuscript was submitted to the Company in London and at a meeting on March 24, 1674–75, was referred to a Committee with instructions to consider it, and if they thought fit, to prepare it for the press. The news of the outbreak of King Philip's war put an end to this scheme for reviving interest among the contributors to the Society's missionary funds, and the manuscript sent to England disappeared. The Society's copy contains the names of two of Gookin's descendants, and a note that in 1741 it was offered as evidence to the Commissioners who were determining the Massachusetts-Rhode Island boundary.

Gookin was not deterred by the fate of his first venture, and wrote another lengthy narrative for the Company, giving an account of the Indian War of 1675–76. This was likewise submitted, presumably, for publication. An English Clergyman loaned it to the Rev. Mr. Campbell of Pittsburg, who loaned it to Jared Sparks. Sparks copied it, and from his transcript it was printed in the second *Archaeologia Americana* of the American Antiquarian Society, in 1836.

One other fact ought to be recorded in the publications, although this likewise is eighty-five years late to do much good. When in 1834, in 3 *Collections*, IV, the publication committee printed what it thought was the "entire series" of the Eliot Indian Tracts, it left out the last three: *A further Accompt*, of 1659; *A further Account*, of 1660; and *A Brief Narrative*, of 1671.

Another matter which it may be well to put on record, in connection with the foregoing, is that four letters from Eliot to the Rev. Jonathan Hanmer, were issued in facsimile by the late Theodore N. Vail in 1915, and that three of them were also printed, from copies made before the originals were sold out of England, in 1919, in the *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.

The earlier volumes of the Society's publications contain a good many documents which were printed without note or

comment to show where the originals may be seen or how they came to the attention of the publication committee. At that time, when historical investigators rarely looked beyond what was written on a paper, and had not reached the point of realizing that the way an old document chanced to be preserved is often quite as significant as anything it contains, such economy of editorial effort was nothing one could object to. Now that rather more is expected, it will perhaps save some one else a little time, and contribute to the completeness of the Society's publication record, to insert these memoranda even though a century too late to be really useful.

Mr. TUTTLE submitted a paper on

THE GLASGOW-WEEKLY-HISTORY, 1743.

The Society has recently obtained by purchase a copy of

The | Glasgow-Weekly-History | Relating to the | Late Progress | of the | Gospel | At Home and Abroad; | Being | A Collection of Letters, partly reprin- | ted from the London-Weekly-History,[1] | and partly printed first here at Glas- | gow. | For the Year 1742. || Glasgow: Printed by William Duncan. 1743. Small 8vo.

The volume was received in its broken original building. It is printed in signatures of eight pages, with signature-marks A–Fff, but each part is paged separately. In the second number subscribers were advised to "lay up their *Weekly* half Sheets till the end of the *Year*," when a Title Page and Index would be supplied gratis. An Index of six pages follows the title, and this is followed by a series of fifty-two issues of eight pages each; the first of which is without number and with the heading:

Four | Letters | from | Mr. Gilbert Tennent, the Secretary | of | New-England, | And Dr. Colman, Concerning the great | Success of the Gospel abroad. || Glasgow, Printed by W. Duncan, Price one Half-penny.[2]

[1] There is a copy of "The Weekly History: Or, An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars relating to the present Progress of the Gospel. By the Encouragement of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield. Printed by J. Lewis in Bartholomew-Close [London], Numbers 1 to 84, 1741–42, 4to," in the library of Wymberly Jones De Renne, Wormsloe, Georgia (p. 239). This is the only copy of the London issue so far found.

[2] A similar title, probably taken from the same source as this, appears in the

The heading of numbers 2 to 52 is

The | Weekly History: | Or, | An Account of the most Remarkable Particulars relating | to the present Progress of the Gospel.

Number 2 has this additional line: "By the Encouragement of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield."

Numbers 2 to 25 have the line just below the heading: "Glasgow, Re-printed by W. Duncan, Price one Half-penny." Numbers 26 to 52 have this line changed to: "Glasgow, Printed by W. Duncan, Price one Half-penny."

The proposal for printing this work by subscription was issued from Glasgow on November 18, 1741, and is printed on the last page of the first number giving the imprint: "London Printed: And Glasgow Re-printed by William Duncan, in the Salt Mercat." The numbers were printed weekly, on Mondays, beginning with the issue for December 1, 1741; and edited by William M'Culloch. Number 52 was the last issue, at the end of one year, when the series was discontinued. Search for other copies of the work reveals one in the Library of the Earl of Crawford at Haigh Hall, Wigan, England, but it lacks the title and index.

The Society's volume bears the autograph signatures of Archibald Houston, and of Thomas Smith, of Dundee, 1760, 1769, October 23, 1770, and 1777. On the inside of the front cover is written the following note:

Dear Brother: — Along with Brother Thomas's letter I send this old book of Letters and Sermons, the reading of which has often refreshed me. I hope it will do the same to Yourself and your Wife.

Mr. Whitefield and Dr. Willison[1] are men whose memories I greatly revere.

May every blessing attend You and Yours.

ELIZABETH SOMMERVILLE.

18 West Register St.
23d March, 1847.

Catalogue of the British Museum: "Four Letters, &c., taken from the London Weekly History of the Progress of the Gospel: with a large postscript, occasioned by the reading of these letters, . . . vindicating . . . the late revival of real Christianity, etc. pp. 64. J. Traill: Edinburgh, 1743."

[1] John Willison (1680–1750), who initiated a religious revival at Kilsyth, after hearing Whitefield speak at Cambuslang in 1742.

Following the *Weekly History*, at the end of the volume, are three tracts:

The | Duty and Advantage | of | Religious Societies, | proven from | Scripture and Reason: | with | Proper Directions to all who either are or | may be engaged in such Societies. | . . . To which are subjoin'd | Two Letters anent the Life of Faith; one | by the Reverend Mr. Joseph Belcher late of Ded- | ham in New-England,[1] . . . And the o- | ther from Doctor Joseph Hall . . . || Edinburgh, 1743. Pp. (1), 42.

The Balm of Gilead displayed, or, | Christ the Physician of Souls |—| A | Sermon | Preached in the Orphan-Hospital Park, | on Thursday Evening, the 8th July, | 1742. . . . |—| By the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, | A.B. late of Pembroke College, Oxford. |—|—|| Glasgow, 1742. Pp. 16.

The | Blood of Sprinkling | in two | Sermons, | Preached by |—| The late Rev. Mr. William Wright, Minister of the | Gospel at Kilmarnock. . . . Glasgow, 1742. Pp. 40.

The Great Awakening of 1737–1742 received its inspiration from Whitefield, whose invitation to come to Boston was extended by Rev. Benjamin Colman, Minister of the Brattle Street Church.

The contents of the "Glasgow-Weekly-History," the letters of Mr. Colman, and a few items of special interest, are given below, as no trace of their being in print has been found:

[Number 1] Title given above.

Gilbert Tennent to his brother William, Boston, Jan. 24, 1740–1, [ ] Bealty to [ ] Redman, Philadelphia, March 4, 1741, Gilbert Tennent to George Whitefield [page 2].

New-York, Apr. 25, 1741.

Very Dear Brother,

After cordial Salutation, these may inform you, that through great Mercy I have enjoy'd some Measure of Health, for the most Part of Time. In my Return *homewards*, I have been preaching daily, ordinarily three Times a Day, and sometimes oftner (a few Days in the aforesaid Space excepted) and through *pure Grace* I

[1] Of the Letter found in the Library of Rev. Joseph Belcher, twenty-three separate issues have already been found, including one described in the Publications of the Colonial Society. This reprint in "Duty and Advantage," has hitherto escaped notice, and adds one to the number. 2 *Proceedings*, XVIII. 469.

have met with Success much exceeding my Expectation. In the Town of *Boston* there were many Hun[dreds or] Thousands as some have judged, under Soul-concern. When I left that Place, many Children were deeply affected about their Souls and several had received Consolation. Some aged Persons *in Church Communion* and some open Opposers were convinced; divers of the young and middle-aged were comforted: And several Negroes were hopefully converted. The Shock was rather more general at *Charles-town*. Multitudes were awakened, and several had received great Consolation, especially among the young People, Children and Negroes. At *Cambridge* also in the College and Town, the shaking among the dry Bones was general; and several of the Students have received Consolation. In these Places, I found several Fruits of your Ministry. In *Ipswich*, there was a general Concern among the Inhabitants, so in this Place also I saw some of the Fruits of your Labours. There were also several awakend in *Portsmouth*, in *Greenland*, in *Ipswick*, *Hamlet*, *Marble-head*, *Chelsea*, *Malden*, *Hampton*, *New-town*, *Rosebury*, *Plimouth*, *Bristol*, *Providence*, *Stoningtown*, *Geatton* [Groton], *New-London*, *Lime*, *Guilford*, *New-haven*, *Milford*, *Stratford*, *Newport*. The shock at *New-port*, was very considerable. Divers Quakers and Children came to me, in distress about their Souls, with others. At *New-haven*, the Concern was general both in College and Town: . . . About thirty Students came on foot ten Miles to hear the Word of God. And at *Milford* the Concern was general. I believe by a Moderate Computation that Divers Thousands have been awakened, *Glory be to God on High!* I have had good Information this Journey, that God has bless'd my poor Labours on *Long Island* in my pass to *New-England*. I thank you, Sir, that you did excite me to this Journey. It was doubtless of God, there have been several Children in several other Places beside these mentioned, Who after Distress, have received Comfort. The Work of God spreads more and more. My Brother *William* has had remarkable Success this Winter at *Burlington*. I hear that there are several religious Societies formed there. Mr. *John Cross* has had remarkable Success at *Stratten* [Staten] *Island*, and many I hear, have been awakened by the Labours of Mr. *Rolinson* in divers places of the *York* Government. Mr. *Mills* has had remarkable Success in *Connecticut*, particularly at *New-haven*. And I hear that Mr. *Blair*,[1] has had remarkable Success in *Pensilvania*. Mr. *Noble* and Family

[1] John Blair. He was "bred under old Mr. *Tennent* aforemention'd, and is a choice Minister and Servant of Christ, and one of Mr. *Gilbert Tennent*'s Associates, and settled in *Pensilvania*, where the Harvest of Souls is exceeding reat." Seward, "Journal," 36.

are well. The Lord bless you Dear Brother. I add no more, but Love and remain Yours. G. *Tennent.*

P. S. *In and about Mr.* Davenport's[1] *Place there is a great Commotion; Multitudes are under Soul-concern: And I hear that he is very warm. From* Horseneck *to* York *beyond* Boston, *there is in most Places a greater or less Degree of Soul-concern.*

Extract of a Letter *to the Reverend* Mr. Whitefield, *from* Josiah Willard, *Esq; Secretary of the Province of* New-England [p. 4].

BOSTON, April 25, 1741.

Reverend and dear Sir,

Your kind Letters of the first and sixteenth of *January* I received last Week with great Thankfulness and Satisfaction. That God should honour me, the most unworthy of all Creatures, with the Love and Friendship of some of his dearest Servants, fills me with abundant Joy, and yet with the deepest Shame and Abasement. Oh! That the Lord would make me worthy of so great a Favour. There has been so evidently the Finger of God in directing you into this Province, and (after your Departure) the Reverend Mr. *Tennent*, thro' your earnest and importunate Request to him, and in the wonderful Success that has attended both his and your Ministry; as also the Labours of our own Ministers for some Months past, that many that like not the Work are sadly put to it to keep their Eyes shut against the evidences of it.[2] The Alteration in the State of Religion in this Town, and many of the neighbouring Towns (especially *Charles-Town* and *Cambridge*) is very amazing. The vast Numbers that flock to hear the Word preached even on the Week Days, and the serious Looks, grave Deportment, and close Attention of almost all, and the weeping Eyes of many, are evident Proofs of the Power of the Word: Our Churches are almost as much crowded at our Evening Lectures as when you were here. We opened an Evening Lecture at our Church the last Week, and had a

[1] James Davenport (1716–1757), a son of John, and a successful revivalist in Connecticut in 1741, being expelled from the colony and, on trial, in Boston, was declared *non-compos*. His career was eventful, and Whitefield speaks of him as a "sweet, pious soul."

[2] Whitefield prints an extract relating to Tennent in his "Some Remarks on a late Pamphlet Intitled The State of Religion in New England," Glasgow, 1742. Boston, reprinted, 1743, p. 10. A copy of the "State of Religion," issued by Robert Foulis, Glasgow, 1742, is in the Prince Collection, Boston Public Library, and also a copy of the second issue made in the same year, with a reply to Whitefield's "Remarks." The author was A. M. In both editions Colman is made to complain that "Mr. Whitefield's Friends have been too free with my Letters, in printing Part of them, and mixing them with Parts of others, without Distinction."

very full Assembly. Mr. *Webb* told me last Week, that he had five Hundred and Fifty Persons noted down in his Book (besides some Strangers) that have been with him in their Soul Troubles within a Quarter of a Year, and above Eighty that are in a State of Comfort and Peace; and the most, (he is perswaded) upon a good Foundation. Mr. *Cooper* also has his Hands full of Work; Dr. *Sewall* and Mr. *Prince* are likewise well employed; and I believe the rest of our Ministers find their Labours much more successful than formerly: But that which forbodes a more lasting Advantage, is the new Face of Things at the College, where the Impressions of Religion have been, and still are very general and many in a Judgment of Charity brought home to Christ; and divers Gentlemen's Sons, that were sent there only for a more polite Education, are now so full of Zeal for the Cause of Christ, and of Love to Souls, as to devote themselves entirely to the Studies of Divinity.[1]

Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Dr. Coleman *of* Boston, *to the Rev. Mr.* Whitefield [p. 5].

Rev. and dear Sir,

God has carried us thro' the longest and severest Winter, since you left us, that I ever knew. Numerous and mighty Snows have hardened into Ice by mighty Frosts, which have shut up Town and Country from each other; yet Mr. *Tennent* was nothing terrified, from facing our North Winds from hence to *York*, and back again, and is now near *New-haven* (as I suppose) home-wards.[2]

We opened a weekly evening Lecture upon your leaving us in our House, which has to this Day been crouded as when you were preaching to us; our Sabbath Assemblies are also greater, and our Lectures much more in Number, and more reverend, attentive, and affected than when you came to us.

The good Work of God was going on among us when Mr. *Tennent* came. We received him just as we did you, as Angels of Christ. He has been abundant and fervent in Labours as you were; Morning and Evening, and exhorting at home. God has been pleas'd to crown his Labours with abundant Success. Our young People, and little Children, are wonderfully impress'd to the Admiration of Ministers and Parents, and all Observers. In a particular manner their Affection works in a Zeal for the Souls of others, their Companions, School-master, Brethren and Sisters, and Servants in the Families. . . . *Charles-Town* is even more generally and deeply

[1] Last sentence is printed in "Some Remarks," p. 14.

[2] He left Boston Monday, March 2, "to return to his own people." *Boston News-Letter*, March 5, 1741.

impress'd than *Boston;* at *Cambridge* [1] the College is a new Creature; the Students full of God, and hope to come out Blessings in their Generations, and how to be so now to each other. Many of them are now we think truly born again, and several of them happy Instruments of Conversion to their Fellows. The Voice of Prayer and Praise fills their Chamber; and the Sincerity, Fervency, and Joy, the Seriousness of their Heart sits visibly on their Faces. I was told Yesterday that not Seven of a Hundred remain unaffected. I know how the good Tidings of this will affect and please you. God give you like Joy every where in the Fruit of your Labours.

At *Portsmouth* in *Newhampshire* Government, the Congregation were mightily melted under Mr. *Tennent's* Sermon, on his Return from York. The great Town of *Ipswich* is also greatly mov'd; we hear from *Rode-Island* and from *Providence* that a great Presence and Power of God attended his Labours among them. The marvellous Thing and great Wonder there was, that Mr. *C*[heck]ly the Church Minister invited him to Preach in the Church, whither all of every Denomination crowded, and seem'd to unite in Love to the Word and Preacher.

My late Letters from *Connecticut*, inform me of great Numbers under Convictions at *Hartford* and *Lyme*. And at *Northampton* and Daverfield [Deerfield], the Work of God is greatly reviv'd, Mr. *Edwards* read lately to his People part of a Letter from me, giving him an account of our State. Help us still dear Sir with your Prayers and constant remembrance. And the Lord deliver you from unreasonable Men. We hear of your Arrest at *Carolina*.

Numb. 2.

Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Dr. Coleman [2] *of* Boston, *to the Rev. Mr.* Whitefield [p. 1].

Rev. and very dear Sir.

Having been out in the Country, under the Service of the best of Masters, I have not had the time to write to you as I hoped for, and also miss'd some opportunities, which troubl'd me: for, next to the Pleasure of receiving a Letter from you, is that of writing to you.

A few Days ago I received your two Letters, one from on board the *Minerva*, the other from *London*. Many here besides myself, will give thanks to God for his Mercies to you in your Voyage; some of us pray and give Thanks publickly for you as well as privately.

[1] Extract to the end of this paragraph is printed in "Some Remarks," p. 13.

[2] Whitefield in "Some Remarks," p. 10, says the printer of the "Weekly History," No. 2 has mistaken Rev. Mr. Cooper for Colman as the writer of this letter from which Whitefield makes an extract relating to Mr. Tennent.

Indeed your Letters fill me with Joy from time to time. Blessed, blessed, be the name of Jesus our sweetest Redeemer, who so delights to use you in his Service, and lets you lean in his Bosom. I join with you in the Cry, Grace, Grace! . . . Indeed the good Seed sown in your Ministry here has not quite done springing up to this Day; we were endeavouring to water it, and not without some manifest Success, when dear Mr. *Tennent* came: And he came in the Fulness of the Blessing of the Gospel indeed. He was with us several Months. Many Thousands were awakened, and I believe, many truly converted. There is quite a new Face on Religion in this Town, as well as in many Places in the Country. Many Ministers as well as People are greatly quickened. Blessed be God who put it in our Hearts to move him to come, and inclin'd his Heart to come and help us. He has great Success in his way home; there was a great shock in the College of *New-haven*, and a sweet Work has been going on at our College at *Cambridge*. Indeed God has given us a gracious reviving Time; of which I will write you more particularly in a short Time.

Mr. H . . . B . . .[1] a wealthy Planter, in South Carolina to his sister; giving an account of his Conversion.

Numb. 3.

Conclusion of letter of H. B.

Gilbert Tennent to Mr. Whitefield, New Brunswick, Dec. 1, 1739.

William Tennent to " " New York, Dec. 22, 1739.

R. . . .a B . . .n, a girl of 10, to Mr. Whitefield, Bethesda, Orphan House, Georgia, March 24, 1740–41.

Numb. 4.

Mr. Whitefield, from his journal, on Howel Harris, at Cardiff, Wales, March 8, 1738–9.

Mr. Whitefield to Howel Harris, Edinburgh, August 15, 1741.

Howel Harris to J Cennick, Brinkworth, Oct. 7, 1741.

Numb. 5.

Conclusion of H. Harris.

[1] Hugh Bryan, of Prince William's Parish, whose strange career is touched upon by McCrady. He was uncle to Mrs. Stephen Bull—Elizabeth Bryan.

A remarkable Account of a Reformation among some Gentlemen, at Boston *in* New-England; *being an Abstract of a Letter from* G. D. *of that Place, to his Friend* W. N. *in* Biddiford, *Dated* Nov. 22, 1740.

The Rev. Mr. *Whitefield* has been here and has been a Means of a thorough Reformation in this Town. Oh! 't is good to be where Religion is the main thing aim'd at! We have two Lectures every Week: the Ministers are stirr'd up by Mr. *Whitefield* (that famous Divine) greatly. We have Instances of several extraordinary Convictions, almost incredible, but certainly true. I shall instance the Heads of one which I heard but last Night from an eminent Divine, which is as followeth; a Gentleman being a great hater of Religion, and especially Mr. *Whitefield's* Preaching, one Day as he was walking in his Room he thought he heard Mr. *Whitefield:* He stood sometime very pensive about it; and hearing him, as he thought, conclude his Prayer and begin his Sermon, as he thought the Voice was in another Room: He went to see who was there, and found one of his Negroes preaching: As he laugh'd at the poor Negroe it put a Stop to his Work. The next Day the Gentleman had an Entertainment at his House several Gentlemen were there. After Dinner the Gentleman said to his Company, *Come, I'll entertain you with Mr.* W*'s Preaching: For my Negroe can preach as well as he.* The Pipes and Tobacco, Bottles and Glasses were brought, and a Joint-Stool for the Negroe to preach on. So the Negroe begun and ended his Prayer: (the Negroe had the very Phrases of Mr. *Whitefield.*) And then began his Sermon, the Company laughing and ridiculing at *Whitefield's* Doctrine. At last the Negroe came to his Exhortation, and explain'd himself thus. *I am now come to my Exhortation; and to you my Master after the Flesh: But know I have a Master even Jesus Christ my Saviour, who has said that a Man cannot serve two Masters. Therefore I claim Jesus Christ to be my right Master; and all that come to him he will receive. You know, Master, you have been given to cursing and Swearing and blaspheming God's holy Name, you have been given to be Drunken, a Whoremonger, Covetous, a Liar, a Cheat,* &c. *But know that God has pronounced a Woe against all such, and has said that such shall never enter the Kingdom of God. And now to conclude* (saith he) *except you shall repent you shall likewise perish.* The Negroe spoke with such Authority that struck the Gentlemen to Heart. They laid down their Pipes, never drank a Glass of Wine, but departed every Man to his own House: and are now pious sober Men; but before were wicked profane Persons.[1] Such is the Work of

[1] The same story is briefly related in William Seward's "Journal of a Voyage from Savannah to Philadelphia," 1740, p. 7.

God by the Hands of poor Negroes: We have such Instances every Week from some part of the Country or other.

Mr. A . . . M . . . of Edinburgh, to Mr. S. . M. . of London, Edinburgh, Sept. 26, 1741.

Copy of a letter taken out of the American Weekly Mercury,[1] of Thursday, July 16, 1741, from J. L., of East Lyme, Conn., to Mr. Gilbert Tennent.

A Letter from a Gentleman of East Lyme, *in* Connecticut, *to the Rev. Mr.* Gilbert Tennent, *of* New-Brunswick.

Rev. and Dear Sir,

The Work of the Lord hath prospered in this Place since you Preached here to Admiration; within a Week after you left this Place, a serious Thoughtfulness seemed to spread itself over the whole Parish; our Pastor Mr. *Griswold*[2] being much Enlivened hath been wonderfully assisted to Water the good Seed sown, you left many Souls much concerned, and some deeply wounded: A careful Attendance on the Word Preached, a close Application to reading Books of Piety, and Christian Conversation, soon spread almost over the whole Parish very speedily, and Private Meetings were soon set up. The Wednesday Fortnight after you left us, Mr. *Parson's* Preached to our Private Meeting at my House to about 100 Persons but such a Power of the Divine Spirit accompanying the preached Gospel I had then never seen, about 40 Persons were then deeply wounded, about 20 of them in such anguish of Soul as I never beheld before, 7 were greatly filled with Fear and Horror, and when a little revived made such doleful Outcries that had the Distress been upon any other Account, it would almost have broke the hardest Heart. Some Complaining of a load of Guilt lying on them, a fiery Hell just ready to receive them, and almost the whole Night was spent in Praying with and Counceling the poor distressed Souls. The next Sabbath after being the 20th of *April*, the whole Congregation was in Tears, and about 80 Persons in deep Anguish, and since that there has scarcely been a Sermon Preached, but some Persons were deeply Wounded, the Children of all Ages from 6 Years old and upwards are great sharers in this blessed Work, and talk most wonderfully of the Things of God, the great and unwearied Pains they take to bring their Mates to CHRIST with them, is a standing reproach to those that are grown up. . . . Our Parish is but small no more than 60 Families, I suppose there is about 120 Persons, and

[1] Printed at Philadelphia, 1719-1746+, by Andrew Bradford.

[2] George Griswold.

about 80 Concerned, about 20 give good Evidence of the New-Birth, some rejoicing with Joy unspeakable, my own Children are Sharers in the Work, 2 hopefully Converted the one 16 the other 13 Years old, another about 7 under deep Convictions, indeed hardly a House escapes but some one or more under deep Concern, so that there is not one Scoffer, nor many opposers. The good Work goes on at *Groton*, *New London*, and the first Parish of *Lyme*, and of late hath much spread. . . Last *Thursday* Mr. *Parsons* Preached a Sermon in his own Parish which had such an effect on his people that for some Time the Worship was interrupted, near 100 Persons in deep anguish and about 60 crying out aloud. . . . What shall say I further? Tongue nor Pen can't express the one half; it's a most blessed Time, its a mere Heaven upon Earth, the People from dull Carelesness, now are like the Horse-leach at the Vein, crying give give. Worldly discourse is now much banished; Heaven, the Things of God, and the New-Birth ingrosses all Conversation; we have 2 Lectures a Week much Crowded. . . . The same blessed Work goes on under the Ministry of Mr. *Walrok*[1] and *Pumrey*[2] at *Hebron* and the *North* Parish of *Lebanon*, in a most surprising Manner. Some of the Clergy put to the Hand with all their Strength to carry on the good Work. *vi.* Mess. *Owen*,[3] *Croswell*, *Adams*,[4] *Jewett*,[5] *Griswold*, and *Parsons*, others silent, and some oppose it, but thereby they have brought a great odium on themselves, that their own People begin to talk of leaving their Ministry. . . . Dear Sir, God must have all the Glory, tho' it's meet that I should render you hearty Thanks for your Labour of Love, especially in our small Parish, where the Lord hath made it a Means to Convert many Souls already, and many more in a likely way. Oh! pray hard that these good Beginnings may not be as the *Morning Cloud*, &c. This is all at present from him who ventures to subscribe himself your most Humble and Obedient Son and Servant. J. L.

Numb. 6.

J.[6] Cennick to J. Humphreys, London, Oct. 21, 1741
" " to Lewis, Avon, June 26, 1741.
The Rev, Dr. Colman, *from* Boston *writes thus* [p. 7].

June 8, 1741.

Rev. and dear Sir,

I have both your kind Letters to me, that at Sea, & the other after your arrival at *London*, our Hearts and Prayers are ever with

[1] Eleazar Wheelock. [2] Benjamin Pomeroy. [3] John Owen.
[4] Eliphalet Adams. [5] David Jewett. [6] John Cennick.

you, as we see with Joy that yours are with us. May Wisdom and Strength be added to you abundantly Day by Day. The Work of God with us goes on greatly from *Boston*, *Charlestown*, *Cambridge*, *Ipswich*, *Maulden*, &c, to *Hampshire* Country, *New-London*, *Hartford*, *Lyme*, *Lebanon*, &c. and round about *New-haven*, our crowded serious Assemblies continue, and great Additions are made to our Churches. Yesterday no less than nineteen; the Month before nine or Ten. Many of them among the Rich and Polite of our Sons and Daughters. This week the overseers of our Colleges have appointed a Day of Prayer and Humiliation with thanksgiving, for the Effusion of the Spirit of God on the Students who are seriously disposed to attend; and are bright Examples to their Instructors, or at least in their Eyes.

J. Cennick to [ ]. Little Sommerford, July 8, 1741.

Numb. 7.

Conclusion of J. Cennick's Letter.

J. Cennick to Howel Harris, Kingswood, Aug. 15, 1741.

Numb. 8.

Conclusion of J. Cennick's Letter.

J. Cennick's account of his persecution, Sept. 6, 1741.

Numb. 9.

Conclusion of J. Cennick's account.

T. D. to [ ] in London, Edinburgh, Oct. 24, 1741.

Numb. 10.

Mr. Whitefield to J. Cennick, Brechen, Oct. 17, 1741.

" " " " " Gloucester, Jan. 28, 1741.

[ ] to a friend in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Nov. 21, 1741.

Advice to a Junior Minister, Leominster, Jan. 6, 1741–2.

[ ] to a friend in Glasgow, Edinburgh, [Nov. 1741]

Numb. 11

Conclusion of the Edinburgh letter of [Nov. 1741]

Mr. Whitefield to J. Cennick in London, Gloucester, Feb. 6, 1741

J. Humphreys to the Society at Deptford, near London, Gloucester, Jan. 16, 1741–2.
J. Willison, of Dundee, to Mr. Whitefield, [1741]
T. L. and J. K. to Mr. Whitefield, Edinburgh, Dec. 26, 1741.

Numb. 12.

J. O . . .e,[1] of Aberdeen to Mr. Whitefield, Aberdeen, Nov. 27, 1741.
Howel Harris, in Wales, to his friend in London, Gloucester, Dec. 22, 1741.
Mr. Whitefield to J. Cennick, Gloucester, Dec. 22, 1741.
Dr. John Nichols, of New York, to Nicholas Spence, Agent for the Church of Scotland, May 20, 1741

Numb. 13.

William M'Culloch to Mr. Whitefield, [Cambuslang, 1741]
John Willison to [ ] Oct. 8, 1741.
Howell Harris to the Society at the Tabernacle London, dated Feb. 12, 1741–2.

Numb. 14.

Conclusion of Harris's letter.

Numb. 15

From the Rev. Mr. P. . . .,[2] *to the Rev. Mr.* Whitefield [p. 1].

BOSTON, Dec. 6, 1741.

Reverend and dear Sir,

I am now to inform you, that since my last our exalted Saviour has been riding forth in his Magnificence and Glory thro' divers Parts of our Land, in so triumphant a Manner as has never been seen or heard among us, or among any other People as we know of, since the Apostles Days. He is daily making his most resolute Opposers to fall down under him: And almost every Week we hear of new and surprising Conquests, and even almost all at once, and in a Manner over whole Congregations, where whole Assemblies lay as Congregations of the Dead; the Day of the Power of Christ comes at once upon us, and they are almost altogether, both Whites and Blacks, both Old and Young, both Prophane and Moral, awakened, and made alive to God. It is astonishing to see some who were like incarnate Devils, thrown at once into such extreme Distress as

[1] James Ogilvie. [2] Thomas Prince.

no Pen can possibly describe, or absent Mind imagine; and in two or three Days Time turn'd into eminent Saints, full of Divine Adoration, Love, and Joy unspeakable and full of Glory.

Amazing Works of this kind were a Fortnight ago begun, and are now going on at *Taunton* and *Middleborough*, about forty Miles South of *Boston*, at which last my Brother and Sister live, who so earnestly desired your Help; as also in *Bridgewater* about thirty Miles, and at *Abington* about twenty-three; and a little before at *York*, *Ipswich*, *Rowley*, *Cape Anne*, and thence to *Rittery* [Kittery] and *Berwick:* And on a Day of Fasting and Prayer at *Portsmouth*, *Discataway* [Piscataqua], which you know is the Metropolis of *Newhampshire*, wherein both Mr. F. . . .[1] and Mr. S . . .'s[2] Congregation are join'd; before the Day was over, the Spirit of God came down and seiz'd them at once by Scores and Hundreds, that every one in the large Congregation clearly saw and own'd it was a Work of God, and in three Days time it was computed there were a Thousand in that Town in deep Distress about their Souls, and crying out in the Bitterness of Anguish, *What shall we do to be saved?* Yea, the wondrous Work even spread into the Church of *England* there: And this Evening I saw a Letter thence, wherein a Gentleman writes, that even Mr. B . . . .,[3] the Church of *England* Clergyman there, who has often preach'd against this Work with distinguish'd Violence, has now declar'd he is convinc'd it is a wondrous Work of God.

N. B. *The Writer of the above Letter was a Correspondent of the late Rev. Mr.* J. . . H. . . . .'s, *Minister in* Glasgow.

Mr. B. . . .n[4] to Mr. Whitefield, [Charlestown, S. C.] Dec. 14, 1741.

J. Humphreys to the Mr. Whitefield, Bristol, March 4, 1741–2.

E . . . A. . . .n to Mr. Whitefield, Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, Dec. 8, 1741.

Numb. 16.

J. B . . .r to Mr. Whitefield, Bethesda, Nov. 10, 1741.

J. . . . S . . ., to T. D. in Edinburgh. London, March 20, 1741–2.

Numb. 17.

Mr. Whitefield to William M'Culloch, London, March 22, 1741–2.

[1] Jabez Fitch (1672–1746).
[2] William Shurtleff (1689–1747).
[3] Arthur Brown (–1773).
[4] Hugh Bryan?

J . . . B . . .r to Mr. Whitefield, Charlestown, S. C., Dec. 14, 1741

Extract of a Letter Printed at Boston, concerning the Conduct and Preaching, of Mr. W —. and T —.[1]

Numb. 18.

Rev. Mr. H. . . to Mr. Whitefield, Weathersfield, Feb. 13, 1741.

Howell Harris to John Lewis, March, 1741–2.

Numb. 19.

Mr. E. . . to Mr. Whitefield, Philadelphia, Dec. 18, 1741.

Howell Harris to a Sister under Trials.

Mr. A . . .s to Mr. Whitefield, Hampton, March 12, 1741–2.

God intreated for Jerusalem. An Hymn for a Fast Day from Isaiah lxii, 67.

A Letter to the Publisher of this Paper.

Numb. 20.

Rev. Mr. I. H . . .y to Mr. Whitefield, Biddiford, March 7, 1741.

J. Humphreys to " " Bristol, March 23, 1741–2.

Rev. Mr. J. O . . .n to " " Leominster, Jan. 26, 1741–2.

J. Cennick to " " Kingswood, April 6, 1742.

Numb. 21.

J. . . . P. . . .s[2] to Benjamin Coleman, Lyme, Dec. 16, 1741.

Howell Harris to Mr. Whitefield, April 5, 1742.

Extract from Jonathan Edwards' Narrative of Conversion at Northampton.

Numb. 22.

Continuation of the Edwards Narrative.

Mr. A. T. to Mr. Whitefield, Edinburgh, April 1, 1742.

[1] Whitefield and Tennent.

[2] Jonathan Parsons, of the church in Old Lyme.

Miss M. Finlysom, a young girl, to Mr. Whitefield, Edinburgh, Nov. 18, 1741.

Numb. 23.

S. Willison, to Mr. Whitefield, April 2, 1742.
[ ] to William Duncan, May 29, 1742.
James Robe, First Journal at Kilsyth, May 28, 1742.
[ ] to John Lewis, April 26, 1742.

Numb. 24

Conclusion of letter to Mr. Lewis.
J . . .s S . . .h to Mr. Whitefield, Bristol March 31, 1742.
James Robe, second Journal at Kilsyth, June 2, 1742.
Mr. Whitefield to John Lewis, London, May 11, 1742.

Numb. 25.

Conclusion of Whitefield's Letter.
James Robe, third Journal at Kilsyth, June 9, 1742.
Mr. Whitefield to William McCulloch, Edinburgh, June 8, 1742.

Numb. 26.

James Robe, fourth Journal at Kilsyth, June 16, 1742.
J. Willison to [ ] Dundee, March 22, 1742.
Redemption by Price and Power, a hymn.

Numb. 27.

J. Humphreys to Mr. Whitefield, Bristol, April 28, 1742.
A . . .r W. . . . .r[1] to Mr. Whitefield, April 20, 1742.
William M'Culloch of Cambuslang to Mr. Whitefield, April 28, 1742.
James Robe, fifth Journal at Kilsyth, June 24, 1742.

Numb. 28.

James Robe, sixth Journal at Kilsyth, June 30, 1742.
James Ogilvie to person of honor at Edinburgh, Aberdeen, October 3, 1741
Frail Life and succeeding Eternity, a hymn.

[1] Alexander Webster.

Numb. 29.

James Robe, seventh Journal at Kilsyth, July 7, 1742.
Rev. Mr. J. O. . . .n, of Leominster, to Mr. Whitefield, April 19, 1742.
E. B., a little girl of Edinburgh to Mr. Whitefield.
The World's Three chief Temptations, a poem by I. W.

Numb. 30.

William M'Culloch to [ ] Camb[uslang], July 14, 1742.
Minister in Dublin to William M'Culloch, Dublin, June 19, 1742.
James Robe, eighth Journal at Kilsyth, July 15, 1742.

Numb. 31.

James Robe, ninth Journal at Kilsyth, July 20, 1742.
Minister in Boston, to his Correspondent in Gorbals, Boston, May 14, 1742.
Mrs. A. . . A . . .ng, one of the Society of Kinswood to J. Cennick, June 8, 1742.

Numb. 32.

Mr. Whitefield to Mr. Abbot, Edinburgh, June 4, 1742.
" " to [ ], extracts from a book lately published.
Faith and Repentence, Unbelief and Impenitence, verses, by I. W.

Numb. 33.

J. Humphreys to Mr. S. . . .s

To the Rev. Mr. B. B. *at* Sl . . r [p. 2].

Harv. Coll. Feb. 4, 1741–2.

Dear Cousin,

I Desire to be very thankful that I can yet say, vital Religion is still a very flourishing Condition amongst us. Could I collect all the wonderful Accounts of the Success of the Gospel, and powerful Effects of the Means of Grace, accompanied by the Influences of the Holy Spirit, you will I doubt not, be quite astonished at the wonderful Grace and Mercy of God to usward . . . I think most of our Churches have partook of this great Blessing, some in a larger, some in a smaller Degree. And according to Judgment of Charity, many

Thousands have been brought to taste and see that the Lord is gracious; in some Congregations the People have so thirsted after the Word, that a Sermon in the Meetinghouse every Night would hardly suffice them. And in some Churches they have tarried after Service in vast Numbers, as I myself have been an Eye-witness of, sometimes most part of the Night and sometimes all Night, blessing and praising God, or bewailing their lost and undone Condition by Nature . . . At a Town called *Portsmouth*, the Metropolis of *New-Hampshire* Government, a place remarkable before for Politeness, the Ministers set apart a Day of Prayer for the Success of the Word. Just after Service there was a sensible Commotion among them; vast Numbers crying out, some in great Distress of Soul, under a Sense of their lost Condition by Nature: Others under a View of the Loveliness of Christ, and the Holiness and Purity of God, as far as I can understand. A Day or two after they had another Sermon in the Evening; just after the Service two or three Hundred People cried out; some full of Distress, others full of holy Joy. The whole Auditory which was large, seem'd to be under the sensible Impressions of the Spirit of God . . . I ask'd several that were in the Meeting-house to give me an Account of the Transactions of that Memorable Night, but they told me it was not to be conceived of, much less expressed; that they themselves were lost in Wonder and Surprize when present, having never heard of, nor seen any Thing equal to it before . . . You may easily judge then, my dear Cousin, that it is but a poor feeble Representation of these Things I am able to give you, but if it be a Mark of the true Spirit, if it excites immoral and prophane Persons to Reformation of their Lives and Conversations, and to an entire Change of Life; to profess a Sweetness and Pleasure in the Ways of God, they could never have found the Paths of Sin; if it excites outward Professors to a strict Examination of their Hearts with regard to the Power of Godliness, and to a discovery of their own Self-righteousness, and of the all-sufficient Righteousness of Christ, and enables them to depend on that alone for Pardon and Life: In fine, if it actuates young and old to croud around the Banner of the great Redeemer, and to an open Profession of Him, from a Discovery of his being the only begotten Son of God, as of the Glory of God the father full of Grace and Truth; and if it makes People careful to evidence their faith in the Eye of the World by a life of holy Obedience, and the Fruits of Righteousness, Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost; and if this has appeared in Multitudes a Year or two ago, so as to evidence it not to be a sudden Motion of the animal Spirits, or a Work barely on the Passions, there is a great & glorious Work of the Spirit of God among us. Accounts come to us every Day from some Town or

other of some remarkable Commotion; and in some Parishes there has been very few but what have been hopefully converted.

Your loving Cousin,

B. B.[1]

A. D. . s[2] of Kingswood Society, to J. Cennick, June 27, 1742.

H. . . R. . . to J. Cennick, Clavering, June 21, 1742.

James Robe, tenth Journal at Kilsyth, August 5, 1742.

Numb. 34.

Rev. R. . . . A. . . .[3] to his friend D. . . G. . . at Leslie, Boston, May 25, 1742

Anne A . . .rg[4] of Kingswood Society to J. Cennick, June 25, 1742.

Causes of sinful Anger, a sermon.

Numb. 35.

[ ] to William Duncan, Glasgow, August 20, 1742, about the "State of Religion in New England."

M. . . .t L. . . .y, a young girl in Merchants Hospital, Edinburgh, to Mr. Whitefield, Nov. 20, 1741.

Numb. 36.

Continuation of the letter to Mr. Duncan, a defence of the extraordinary Work in New-England, from the Aspersions in the pamphlet entitled "The State of Religion in New England," in a letter signed by A. M.

Numb. 37.

Conclusion of the letter to Mr. Duncan, dated, Sept. 4, 1742.

Mr. Whitefield to a Minister in the North, Cambuslang, August 17, 1742.

Extract of Sermon of M'Gregore,[5] Londonderry, New England.

[1] The initials would answer to Benjamin Brandon (1724–1755), of Boston, a member of the class of 1742.

[2] Mrs. Ann Dutton? She is highly spoken of by Seward.

[3] Robert Abercrombie. A certificate recommending him is in the Colman MSS. in the Society. He was first minister in Pelham, Mass.

[4] Ann Armstrong? The letter is signed A . . . ng.

[5] David McGregore (1710–1777).

Numb. 38.

Continuation of M . . .t L . . .y's letter, in No. 35.
S. M. to Mr. Whitefield, London, July 16, 1742, on the Indians of Connecticut.
Extract of a letter from Georgia, Bethesda, December 12, 1741.
God my only Happiness, verses.

Numb. 39.

William M'Culloch's account of the second Sacrament at Cambuslang.
J. Humphreys to Mr. Whitefield, Bristol, July 1, 1742.

Numb. 40.

J. Periam[1] to Mr. Whitefield, Bethesda, May 1, 1742.
John Lawson to W. M'Culloch, Closeburn, May 23, 1742.
The Priesthood of Christ, verses by J. W.

Numb. 41.

Mrs. Margaret Kennedy to Mr. Whitefield, Bethesda, May 9, 1742.
Jane Mackay, a child of 8 or 9 years, to Mr. Whitefield, Bethesda, May 6, 1742.
Mr. M . . . .n of London to Mr. Whitefield, July, 1742.
J. Cennick to Mr. Whitefield, London, July 14, 1742.
[ ] Mason to " " " August 24
From one of the Tabernacle Society, August 24.
J. Cennick, to Mr. Whitefield, London, August 25.
From a friend at Chafford to Rev. Mr. J. . . . . of Stroud, July 27, 1742.

Numb. 42.

The Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Moorhead, *Minister at* Boston *in* new England, *to Mr.* Willison, *dated* July 30th, 1742 [p. 1].

Since I wrote to you God's Work goes on with great Speed both in Town and Country. The last Time that I administred the Lord's Supper, we had above 300 Souls so overpower'd with the Love of Jesus, that they could not contain from expressing it in an audible Manner, tho' with Decency and Order, such a Day of Christ I never

[1] Stephens says it was reported that Periam, an instructor of the orphans, was "bred a lawyer and found out at a Mad-House."

saw before; God filled the Place with his Glory, and my Soul with love to him, and to the Souls of Men. I know no Congregation, who have been greater Sharers in the Love of Glorious Christ, some have at several Times been in such Raptures of Joy, that they have expected to expire under the feeling Sense of Divine Love, some have been a Week, some a Month so together and wholly taken up Night and Day with great Humility, and profound Adoration in praising God, and calling to Jesus to come and carry them hence. I can't express the Love that subsists among them to God and one another.

I have been lately eastward from this, about sixty Leagues. I preached in eight or nine different Settlements, which are new; they have no stated Minister as yet; I was above five Weeks among them. God's convincing and enlightning Power began with them last Winter; they ly scattered on River-sides. Nothing has been more remarkable, than God's Power among a People seemingly void of Law and Gospel. I never saw more glorious Days of Christ than while there at their Desire. I administered the Lord's Supper amongst them, we had a large Society; some came 40 Miles by Water; others came nigh 30 thro' a Wilderness, the Shout of a king was there: God's Power and Love were unspeakably great, both in causing Sinners to cry out for Fear of God, and Numbers to shout for Joy; this Day of God exceeded all that I ever saw, our own Sacrament excepted, of which before. I examined and admitted 53, who had never been at the Lord's Table before, four of them had been bred bigotted *Papists*, and severals strenuous *Episcopalians;* some had never seen a Sacrament before. Tho' many of them were weak in Knowledge, yet in the Judgment of Charity, all of them savingly knew Christ. A few days before this eight or nine of that Number who had been under concern of Soul received the consolatory Evidences of God's Love, and above 20 came under Distress about their Souls, and all at one Sermon; all the Glory be to Christ my dear Lord. God rides in Triumph thro' this Wilderness, *Hosanna*, *Hosanna*.

I preached while among them 44 Times tho' thro' much outward Difficulty. I passed while there, a cross Bays, and up and down Rivers in Boats and Canoos, 211 Miles. I can't express the wonderful things which God is adoing, and has already Manifested amongst *Indians*, *Negros*, *Papists*, and *Protestants* of all Denominations. We are under Apprehension of Deadness and Confusion, arising from contradictory Sermons, Pamphlets, *Anonymous* Libels, *Enthusiastick* and *Visionary* Notions, which are among some indiscreet *Zealots* both Ministers and Hearers. O how Satan spews out his Flood! God direct us what to do, particularly with pious *Zealots*,

and cold *Diabolical* Opposers. The *Moravians* also have proved a great Clog to the Work in the *Southern* Provinces, by their *Latitudinarian* Principles. There is a great Contest between *Michael* and the *Dragon*, &c . . . In another place, *he says*, Let the Guardian Angels carry the News to Heaven of the numerous Converts; the *Millennium* is begun, Christ dwells with Men on Earth.

Extract from Dr. Colman *one of the Ministers of* Boston *his Letter to Mr.* Willison, *dated at* Boston May 27, 1742 [p. 3].

I thank God the good Work goes on among us, and thro' the Provinces in many Parts of them, from *Carolina*, *Pensilvania*, the *Jersies*, and thro' our new *English* Colonies. And yet in every Part we find Satan busy in countermining it. Nevertheless our Ministry is attended with greater Success than heretofore, but we rejoice with Fear and Trembling, *&c* . . . That which is very surprizing to us these late Months past is to find an earnest Desire of the preached Gospel by some Towns near *Rhode Island*, who would never admit the Ministry of it among them from the Days of our Fathers, but now send to us for it. And we hear that the Families of the *Quakers*, as well as others, are ready to attend and hearken. And in like Manner the Clans or Tribes of *Indians* the Reliques of the *Mokeage*, *Pequots*, and *Niantic's* in *Connecticut* Colony, who have obstinately continu'd in *Infidelity*, of their own accord, aply for Instruction to the Pastors about them, and receive it greedily, and with great Thankfulness, and Numbers of them seem savingly wrought upon. This is wondrous in our Eyes, and the Pastors about them are wonderfully spirited to serve them by the Grace of God, and see the Fruits of their Labours; The *Indian* Fund here, and private Helps will not be wanting to give Assistance.

Jane Lumsden to Mr. Whitefield.

Numb. 43.

From a gentleman in Edinburgh to James Robe, covering the Preface[1] to the Cambuslang Narrative, lately translated into Dutch, and printed in Holland, Oct. 2, 1742.

Numb. 44.

Thomas Adams to J. Cennick, Hampton, July 10, 1742.

Howell Harris to Mr. Whitefield, London, Oct. 12, 1742, and Oct. 15.

[1] By Hugh Kennedy, minister of the Scots church in Rotterdam.

Mrs. M. . . .n, Schoolmistress in the Tabernacle School in London to Mr. Whitefield, Oct. 13, 1742.
Mr. M . . .n to Mr. Whitefield, Oct. 12, 1742.

Numb. 45.

Rev. Daniel Rowland in Wales to W. G. at Lambeth, Sept. 6, 1742.

From the Rev. Dr. Colman *to Mr.* Whitefield [p. 3.]

BOSTON. June the 3d, 1742.

Rev. and dear Sir,

Our good Brother, Mr. *Prince* tells me that in a Pacquet, he has read from you this Day, You complain of my Neglect in not writing to you. The whole Reason of which was (if you will allow it to pass for any Reason at all) that I imagined you was on your Voyage to *Georgia* near the Times, when I received your kind Letters, the last of which was on board the Vessel on your Way to *Scotland*. The Rev. Mr. *Willison* of *Dundee*, has lately refreshed me with a most brotherly Letter, respecting your first Visit in N. *Britain*, and congratulating me on the good Spirit, he thinks I have testified in my Sermon on the Doves, towards you, and I find he bears the same humble fervent Mind you-ward, which he would find and love in me. He tells me that since your Visit to their Kingdom, Religion begins to look with another Face in some of their principal Cities; but he wants to see the Colleges and Students impress'd as many of ours were. I Hint to let you know, that ours impressed at *Cambridge* and *Boston*, have gone on in their Studies, and come forth into Service since, in a happy Manner of Spirit: One of whom is now first with Mr. *Webb*. But at *New-haven* Things have not proceeded with the like Prudence, Calmness and Modesty; and there has been too much Division and Animosity among the Ministers and Churches in *Connecticut*. The fervent, pious Mr. *Devenport*, and Mr. *Crosswell*,[1] have been too much under the Impressions of a heated Imagination, and no doubt often preached under actual Fevers, judging and censuring the spiritual State of Ministers and People; who could not go into the Way and Length, of singing thro' the Streets to and from the House of God, and favouring Exhorters of no Gifts, or prudence for publick Speaking. Some very young Students also, I hear have taken upon them, to go about exhorting, and one of them has lately visited from *Northampton* down to us, and gone from hence to *Portsmouth* in *Newhamp*-shire. He preach'd for Mr.

[1] Andrew Croswell (*c* 1709–1785), of the church in Ledyard, Conn.

Prince several Times; but Dr. *Sewal* and Mr. *Cooper* told me, he needed more to be at his Studies. I look upon him to be greatly Spirited to serve Souls but wanting Furniture. We have advised our own Students not to rush forth so unprepared, but to be waiting upon God for Gifts, Grace, and holy Zeal. Mr. *Willison* bewails much the envious and uncharitable Divisions and Separation in *Scotland* for smaller Matters, as if they could not allow Good to be done by those who are not of their own Persuasion, and Party in all Respects; and it is with a surprizing Pain, on account of the Messrs *Erskines* and associate *Presbytry*,[1] their Weakness, when I read, that even they should be ready almost to disown you; because you would not confine yourself to them; but ministred equally (and I hear with Equal Acceptance and Success) with the established Pastors, and in their Assemblies: I heartily joy (my dear Brother) that you acted with this catholic Spirit among them, and will not be ingrossed by any Party.

You have seen Mr. *Parson's* Letter from *Lyme* in our *Connecticut* to me; for I see it printed from *London:* God is yet wonderfully owning his Ministry among his People, and has graciously prevented him from running into Impulses, after the Example of Mr. *Devonport* of *Long Island*, whom he greatly emulated once, and left among his People, to the damaging the great and good Work, that had been singular among them: But it is revived and grown; and in the neighbouring Towns of *Stonytoun*, to *Gaoton* [Groton], and about *New-London*, and at *Farmington*, among the *Mokeag*, *Pequot*, *Niantick*, and other Tribes of the obstinate infidel *Indians*, a general Concern hath come upon them for their Souls Instruction and Salvation, and the Ministers in the Neighbourhood are wonderfully assisted to serve them, and see the good Fruits of their Labours. Also, the People of *Freetown*, *Tiverton*, and the Borders of *Dartsmouth* (Families who by no Means receive the Ministry and Ordinances of the Gospel from the first Settlements of those Towns) are now desirous of having Ministers come among them, and *Freetown* has lately sent to us for one who is gone among them, and we are told, that there is scarce a Family of the Quakers in those Parts, but their Children will come to hear the Word.

Mr. *Habersham*[2] refreshed us all with his Letters some Time since,

[1] Ebenezer (1680–1754) and his brother Ralph Erskine (1685–1752). The "associate Presbytery" was formed in 1733 by the secession from the assembly of Ebenezer Erskine, William Wilson of Perth, Alexander Moncrieff of Abernethy, and James Fisher of Kinclaven. In August, 1741, Whitefield had a conference with them, but would not agree to the condition of preaching only for them.

[2] James Habersham (1712–1775), who came to George with Whitefield and opened a school for orphans and destitute children at Bethesda.

and I wish we could have sent him more for the Use of his dear Family; but the Necessaries of Life have bore such an excessive Price, that our Poor have called for more than we could find for them. Mr. *Cooper's* eldest Son has been at *Bethesda*, and wrote his Father a most pleasant Account of your Orphan house.

Wherever you are our Prayers will follow you, and yours reach us daily (I trust) in the most blessed Effects and Fruits; for I am satisfied *New England* is much upon your Heart, it will add much to your Joy and Crown in the Day of Christ. To Day, I have a Letter from dear and Rev. Dr. *Watts*, dated *April 16th.* He tells me, You go on labouring beyond the *Power* of Mortality. His own inability to preach at present, more than two half Hours in a Month, I suppose gives him the *Phrase.* He thinks God has greatly honour'd you, and commands him to do it for that Reason, and heartily to pray for your Success. He wishes not your going over to the Dissenters, because he thinks you are like to do much more good in your visible Relation to the Church of *England*, and so do I too. You must think that some of the dissenting Ministers appear but your *cooler Friends* for this Reason, altho' some of them are truly to be so accounted I doubt not, from a want of that Esteem or Opinion of your Way or Principles, which others of us have: But your Work Success, and Reward, and Judgment is with your God. I have only to add, That the Work of God goes on yet calmly at *Boston.* The overboiling Zeal of some from far, visiting *Charlestown*, has not served the Interest of Religion there. They threaten to visit us a Month hence, and if they do, I fear the Alienation of some from me whom I heartily love, for their true and earnest Love to God; but I must submit to it, if God calls me to this Grief. Help me by your Prayers, that I may please God, and not wilfully offend any of his People. Mercy, Grace and Peace, be multiplied unto you.

I am Rev. and dear Brother your most affectionate fellow Servant
To the Kingdom of God,
BENJAMIN COLMAN.

Part of a Sermon of Dr. Guise.[1]

Numb. 46.

John Cennick to the Society at the Tabernacle, London, Kingswood, Sept. 9, 1742.

Thomas Adams to John Cennick, Hampton, July 30, 1742.

From a gentleman in Glasgow to his friend in Edinburgh.

[1] John Guyse (1680–1761), or his son and assistant, William Guyse.

Numb. 47.

Mr. Whitefield to William M'Culloch, Edinburgh, Sept. 15, 1742.

P. H. Molter, a minister of the Moravian Church, to their Societies in London, 1740.

From Augustus Spangenberg, October 28, 1742, occasioned by his reading Mr. Alexander Webster's pamphlet.

A Living and a Dead Faith, collected from several Scriptures, verses.

Numb. 48.

Letter to William Duncan, Printer in Glasgow.

From a dissenting Minister in Wales to William M'Culloch, Oct. 26, 1742.

Numb. 49.

Rev. Daniel Rowland, Wales, to Howell Harris, in London, Oct. 20, 1742.

Herbert Jenkins in Wales, to Mr. P. in London.

Letter to James Robe at Kilsyth, Nov. 2, 1742.

Numb. 50.

Extract from the Life of Mr. Robert Blair, of Ireland, and Scotland, "never heretofore printed."

Numb. 51

Continuation of Mr. Blair's life.

Rev. James Boes, of Campbeltoun, to a person of Honor in Edinburgh, Dec. 6 and 13, 1742.

Numb. 52.

Mr. Blair on his ministry.

William M'Culloch to William Duncan, Dec. 1742, with a request to stop printing the "Glasgow-Weekly-History," because of "difficulty to get proper materials to carry it on."

Boit's Log of the Columbia, 1790–1792.

Among the log-books left to the society by the late Robert Apthorpe Boit is one kept by his grandfather, John Boit, of peculiar interest, It describes in full the voyage to the north

west coast of the ship *Columbia* of Boston, in the course of which the Columbia River was entered and named. The records of this voyage and incident have been few in number and imperfect in detail. They are summarized in Bancroft's *History of the northwest Coast* in his usual manner, and that work may be consulted for voyages made by the ships of other nations and the maps of the coast and islands resulting from surveys or hurried explorations. The names given to localities have been derived from Spanish and British explorations and of those given by Captain Gray few remain. This Boit journal must stand as the fullest account of the voyage and covers without break the entire course of the ship from the day on which it left Boston until the day of return. The original is closely followed and as a necessary guide to locality the observations are given in full.

Remarks on the Ship *Columbia's* voyage
from Boston, (on a Voyage round the Globe).
By John Boit.
☞N. B. The dates etc. is by Nautical Account (*Not Civill*).

The Ship *Columbia* was fitted out for a four years cruize, on a trading voyage to the N.W. Coast of America, China etc — about 250 tons burthen, mounted 12 Carriage Guns, and navigated with 50 men (including Officers) — own'd chiefly by Sam'l Brown, Joseph Barrell and Crowell Hatch Esq'rs, and Commanded by Robert Gray. Cargo consisted of Blue Cloth, Copper and Iron.

1790, *September* 28. Latt. of Boston 42° 25′ N.; Long. 70° 31′ W. from London. Left Boston Sept. 28th, 1790, with the wind from the western board, and the next day pass'd Cape Cod. On the 30th the wind having chang'd to the East'd and blowing heavy, obliged us to bear away, and we anchor'd the same evening, in Herring Cove, on the west side Cape Cod, in 15 fm. muddy bottom, but not liking our situation, we got under way the following morning, and anchor'd the same evening in Nantasket Roads, in 7 fm. Blowing weather, from the Eastern board.

October 2. Wind at SW. Weigh'd and came to sail, stood to sea. On the 3d pass'd Cape Cod, at 3 leagues distance. Generally blowing hard, with squalls of rain.

8. N. Latt. 40° 30′; W. Long. 55° 43′; Azi. 14° 35′ W. ☉ ☾. Ship sails dull, but is a fine seaboat. Crew appears to be a set of fine fellows.

10. N. Latt. 39° 58′; W. Long. 52° 38′; Amp'd 14° 38′ W.[1] Weather more pleasant, winds generally from SW.

16. N. Latt. 35° 37′; W. Long. 37° 31′; Azi. 14° 35′ W.[2] Weather generally pleasant, winds from the NE.

18. N. Latt. 34° 33′; W. Long. 31° 40′; Amp'd 14° 22′ W. Fair weather, wind from NW.

22. N. Latt. 28° 46′; W. Long. 24° 37′; Azi. 14° 54′ W. Pleasant weather. Crew all well.

23. N. Latt. 26° 41′; W. Long. 24° 16′; Azi. 14° 54′ W. Serene, pleasant weather. Winds from the North'd.

24. N. Latt. 24° 52′; W. Long. 24° 10′; Amp'd 14° 22′ W. Serene, pleasant weather. Winds from SE.

25. N. Latt. 24° 12′; W. Long. 24° 7′; Azi. 14° 26′ W. Serene, pleasant weather. Winds from SE.

27. N. Latt. 22° 0′; W. Long. 23° 0′; Azi. 14° 19′ W. ☉ ☾. Pleasant weather, winds from the NW. Plenty of Dolphin and Skip-jacks playing round us.

30. N. Latt. 20°; W. Long. 23°; This day took the NE. trade winds, after experiencing one day's calm, (*between the variable and trades*).

November 1. N. Latt. 17° 16′; W. Long. 22° 30′; In the course of this day, saw the Island of Sal, (one of the Cape de Verd Isles), 29½ days from Boston light house, — (a long passage). Pass'd it to the Eastward and bore away to the South'd, high land. Crew are all in health, although the regulation of the ship as respects cleanliness among them, is not strict.

Towards Cape Horn.

4. N. Latt. 12° 15′; W. Long. 23° 6′; Azi. 13° 28′ W. This day lost the NE. trade winds, and immediately took the wind from the Southward.

7. N. Latt. 9° 16′; W. Long. 22° 35′; Amp'd 11° 52′ W. Light variable winds, pleasant warm weather, attended at times with sharp lightning.

[1] The Century Dictionary defines the amplitude compass as an azimuth compass whose zeros of graduation are at the east and west points, to facilitate the reading of the amplitudes of the celestial bodies. "Amplitude . . . differs from the azimuth merely in being counted from the east and west points, instead of from north and south." U. K. S. *Nat. Phil.*, III. xiii.

[2] "In the azimuth compass the circumference of the card is divided into degrees and parts by a vernier, and is fitted up with sight-vanes to take amplitudes and azimuths, for the purpose of determining the variation of the compass by observation. The variation is applied to the magnetic course shown by the steering compass, and thus the true course with respect to the meridian becomes known." Encyclopædia Britannica (9th ed.), VI. 225.

9. N. Latt. 7° 21′; W. Long. 22° 13′. Squally weather, with rain, with sharp lightning and heavy thunder, many water spouts in different directions. Experience very heavy squalls. Winds all round the compass since losing the trades. Many vessells in sight.

14. N. Latt. 5° 4′; W. Long. 22° 13′. Winds continue very variable and squally. This day spoke two ships: one a Portuguese from Lisbon bound to Rio Janeiro; the other an English whaleman from England, for the Brazil coast. The Captain (by name *Buller*) was an American.

18. N. Latt. 3° 48′; W. Long. 23° 30′. This day Capt. Buller left us, his ship sailing much faster than ours. Winds and weather still remains very unsettled, with hard squalls, carried away our Jib boom, and got a new one out. A constant swell from the SE. Winds harp most at SSW.

19. N. Latt. 2° 41′; W. Long. 25° 42′; Azi. 11° 32′. Weather pleasant. This day took the wind at SSE, which no doubt is the commencement of the SE. generall winds. The weather at this time is quite settled. Heretofore since leaving the NE. trades, it has been very gloomy and dark. Have noticed, since passing the Lattitude of 12° that the winds generally have been from South to SSW. — at times squalls from West.

21. N. Latt. 2° 38′; W. Long. 24° 48′; Azi. 10° 30′ W. A constant Current, setting to the Northward, in these Latitudes; (two sail in sight.)

22. N. Latt. 2° 6′; W. Long. 25° 2′; Azi. 10° 13′ W. Winds holds from SBE. to SSE. and fair pleasant weather, with a swell from the SE.

23. N. Latt. 1° 41′; W. Long. 25° 26′; Azi. 10° 7′ W. Winds and weather as before. Crew all well.

24. N. Latt. 1° 15′; W. Long. 26° 1′; Azi. 9° 28′ W. Winds at SSE. and quite moderate, weather pleasant.

25. W. Long. 26° 57′ ☉ ☾. In the course of this day cross'd the Equator. Wind at SEBS. and pleasant, serene, temperate weather. Have fish of different kinds round most of the time. Ship's crew are all in health.

54½ days from Boston, 25 days from Isle of *Sal*, (long passages). Keep all hands through the day in good weather, employed in the various departments of the ship — it is best to keep them moving. They are allowed tea or coffee, each morning and in general the ship's fare is good, but proper attention to airing their beds and cloathing and fumigating their berths is not paid.

27. S. Latt. 2° 5′; W. Long. 28° 26′; Azi. 5° 50′ W. Pleasant, agreeable weather. Wind from SE to ESE. Plenty of fish about us. Breezes moderate.

28. S. Latt. 3° 34′; W. Long. 29° 5′. Spoke a French India ship, from L'Orient bound to Pondicherry, reckond himself in Longitude 26° 50′ W. of Paris. Caught a large Albacore.[1] Wind ESE. Pleasant weather.

29. S. Latt. 5° 12′; W. Long. 29° 22′; Amp'd 4° 59′ W. Winds from ESE., squally weather.

30. S. Latt. 7° 24′; W. Long. 30° 16′; Azi. 4° 51′ W. Fresh gales. Caught an Albacore that weighed 130 lb. Spoke a Portuguese ship from Lisbon bound to Rio Janeiro.

31. S. Latt. 9° 33′; W. Long. 31° 9′; Morning, Azi. 4° 8′, Evening, Azi. 3° 42′. A ship in sight. Pleasant weather with fresh trade winds, from ESE. to SE.

December 3. S. Latt. 13° 30′; W. Long. 32° 26′; Azi. 1° 40′ W.; ☉ ☾. This day lost the SE. general winds, and immediately took it at NE. This Northly wind is no doubt the Monsoon prevailing at this season along the Brazill coast. Pleasant weather.

4. S. Latt. 14° 39′; W. Long. 32° 40′; Amp'd 0° 53′ W. Light breezes from NE. and very hot weather.

6. S. Latt. 17° 23′; W. Long. 33° 14′; azi. 1° 28′ W. Moderate breezes and pleasant. Winds from NE. to ENE.

7. S. Latt. 18° 25′; W. Long. 33° 33′; Amp'd 0° 17′ E. Do. winds and weather, and swell from NE.

9. S. Latt. 21° 52′; W. Long. 35° 43′; Azi. 1° 36′ E. Moderate monsoon, and fair weather.

10. S. Latt. 23° 55′; W. Long. 37° 4′; Azi. 2° 34′ E. Lively breeze and pleasant temperate weather.

11. S. Latt. 25° 0′; W. Long. 38° 44′ ☉ ☾. This day a heavy squall struck the ship, carried away the top gall't masts and yards, topsail yards, and fore, and mizen, topmasts; lost the top gall't sails and damaged the topsails.

13. S. Latt. 27° 11′; W. Long. 39° 18′; Azi. 5° 15′ E. In the course of this day got ship to rights again. Winds sometimes hauls to the southward of East. Crew all in health.

14. S. Latt. 27° 50′; W. Long. 40° 5′; Amp'd 8° 5′ E. Wind at SE., moderate breeze, a large swell from SW.

16. S. Latt. 30° 26′; W. Long. 42° 59′; Azi. and Amp'd 8° 28′ E. Wind at NE. and weather pleasant.

18. S. Latt. 32° 52′; W. Long. 45° 39′; Azi. 9° 0′ E. ☉ ☾. This day the NE. winds left us, and come at NW., fresh breeze and cloudy hazy weather.

21. S. Latt. 33° 56′; W. Long. 48° 34′; Azi. 11° 32′ E. Saw an Albatross, many other kinds flying about the ship. Large sea from SE.

[1] A large species of Tunny (Thynnus).

22. S. Latt. 34° 33′; W. Long. 48° 15′; Azi. 11° 38′ E. ✶ ☾. This day a heavy gale of wind from the SE. Lay too. Saw a turtle. A high sea.

25. S. Latt. 36° 57′; W. Long. 46° 23′; Azi. 11° 36′ E. Cool weather. Since the NE. winds left they have generally prevailed from the Southward, and blow'd fresh.

26. S. Latt. 37° 37′; W. Long. 47° 20′. Sounded, no bottom, 150 fm. line out the water discolour'd.

27. S. Latt. 39° 7′; W. Long. 49° 58′. Discolor'd water. Sounded no bottom at 150 fm.

29. S. Latt. 41° 6′; W. Long. 53° 28′; Azi. 17° 25′ E. Discolor'd water, no bottom at 120 fm. lowr'd a whale boat, and struck a black fish but lost him. The iron drew.

30. S. Latt. 41° 53′; W. Long. 54° 4′; Azi. 17° 54′ E. Cold weather. Winds from SW.

31. S. Latt. 42° 46′; W. Long. 53° 45′; Azi. 17° 54′ E. Fresh gales. Caught 16 Albatross's, with a hook and line from the stern, hook'd them in the bill. Ships crew are all in health.

So ends the year 1790.

MADE THE BRAZIL COAST OR PATIGONIA.

1791. *January* 6. S. Latt. 48° 0′; W. Long. 54° 0′; Amp'd 21° 2′ E. Generally fresh gales, and winds mostly from the Southward. Have caught many albatrosses within these few days past, and seen plenty of Finback and right whales. Experience a current setting to the Southward.

7. S. Latt. 47° 43′; W. Long. 54° 40′; Amp'd 20° 10′ E. Fresh gales and pleasant cool weather.

10. S. Latt. 46° 28′; W. Long. 58° 22′. Winds from the southward. Sounded, no ground, with 120 fm. line. Saw seals and whales. Water much discolour'd.

13. S. Latt. 45° 2′; W. Long. 61° 14′ ○ ☾. A whale come so near as to strike the ship with his flukes and gave considerable of a blow. Got bottom, with 53 fm. line, fine black sand, with a few white specks.

14. S. Latt. 46° 0′; W. Long. 62° 0′. Wind from NW. Soundings 50 fm., fine black sand.

15. S. Latt. 45° 31′; W. Long. 63° 54′; Azi. 22° 0′ E. Winds from the Southward. Soundings 45 fm., soft mud with sand.

17. S. Latt. 46° 48′; W. Long. 66° 58′. Fresh gales, under double reef'd topsails, with a high sea. At noon 35 fm. mud, wind NE. Saw the land to the Westward of Cape Blanco on the Coast of Patigonia, bearing from SSE. to SW. Very squally, haul'd our

wind to the Eastward, find the ship embayed with the wind, on shore. Stood on within 2 miles of the beach, and cou'd not weather the land on our larboard tack; we were under the necessity of wearing ship to the Westward, at this time had 12 fm. grey sand. Our situation was very critical, as we cannot weather the land on either tack. Bent cables, and overhaul'd a range of each of them, pass'd several times over very shoal water but did not sound, for fear of intimidating the crew. Ship'd many seas, one of which stove the Binnacle and broke the Compasses. Wore ship several times as the wind favour'd. This land appear'd levell, without much wood and very high grass growing. Saw several smokes, but none of the Natives. The shore was lined with white sand banks. Fortunately at midnight the wind moderated, and haul'd more of shore. Haul'd off into 20 fm. and stood along shore; given the Cape a good berth.

18. S. Latt. 47° 9′; W. Long. 66° 38′; Azi. 21° 36′ E. Saw breakers a head, haul'd to the East'd. Cape Blanco bore S 65° W., 4 leagues. Sounded and had but 5 fm. water; deepened gradually, in 25 fm. pebble or gravell stones. This shoal was not laid down in the Drafts. I judge it to be very small.

At the Falkland Islands.

19. S. Latt. 48° 37′; W. Long. 66° 8′. Winds from the SW. 56 fm. water, weather pleasant but cold. Many Albatross and large *scholes* of Whales.

22. S. Latt. 51° 53′; W. Long. 64° 5′ ☉ ☾. Wind at NW. and squally. Made the Islands of Sebald-De Wert,[1] (or Jasons Islands) which lie off the NW. part of the Group call'd Falkland. Vast many birds and seals round. Made sail to the South'd for States Bay, in New Island (one of the Falkland). At 6 A. M. saw Cape *Percivall*, SBE. 10 leagues. Fresh gales. At Meridian anchord, in New Island harbour. Mud and sand in 5 fm. Remain'd in this Harbour 11 days, during which time we give the ship a complete overhaul. We had the winds generally from the westward, and sometimes blew so strong that we drag'd with 5 anchors a head. A tent was erected on shore, for the Tradesmen. Found the watering place very handy, and the water excellent. The ship's crew on our arrival was all in health. Still no doubt, by being frequently indulg'd on shore, was of great service to them. The weather generally was very cool. During our stay at these Island[s] we shot upwards of 1000 Ducks and Geese, and *6 Hogs*, (*which was evidently*

[1] Sebald de Weert who circumnavigated the globe in 1598–99 in the ship *het Geloof*, the sole surviving vessel of the fleet of five commanded by Jacques Mahu and Simon de Cordes.

of the Spanish breed). The fowl was quite tame when we first arriv'd, but they soon was taught the doctrine of self-preservation. The Swine was very wild.

The face of the Country does not present a very delightful prospect, extensive heaths, mountains, and ponds of water are to be seen all over the Island. There is not a tree upon it, but the grass is 3 feet high in most places. The turf generally of the height of 6 foot, between which the Hogs and Penguins have their habitations. The soil appear'd to me to be proper for the reception of such seeds as contribute towards the substenance of inhabitants. The wild Cellery, which is an excellent antiscorbutic grows here in abundance.

I think these Islands are most proper to touch at, when bound round Cape Horn in preference to those in Straits La Maire [1] as the water is handy, and you may keep your People on Geese and Ducks while you remain.

In the Pacific Ocean after Passing Staten Land and Cape Horn.

February 3. S. Latt. 51° 47′; W. Long. 66° 10′; Amp'd 25° 7′ E. Wind from the Southward, and pleasant weather. Left the Falkland Isles last evening. This day spoke the Ship *Bedford*, Laben Coffin, Master, from Dunkirk (in *France*) bound to the Pacific Ocean, on a whaling voyage. Took a departure from Cape Percivall at 6 P. M., it being the westward extreme of the Falkland, lying in Latt. 51° 50′ South, and Longitude 66° West of London. Light airs, and a swell from the Southward. Vast many marine birds flying round.

5. S. Latt. 53° 54′; W. Long. 69° 36′; Amp'd 25° 1′ E. Moderate breezes and pleasant. Saw Staten Land [2] bearing *South* 14 leagues distant, a Current setting to the Eastward.

6. S. Latt. 54° 52′; W. Long. 68° 13′. Pleasant weather. St. Bartholomews on Staten Land, bore SWBW.

7. S. Latt. 55° 24′; W. Long. 68° 1′; Amp'd 25° 16′ E. Winds light and from the Westward, a Constant Current setting to the Eastward. Staten Land in sight, bearing WNW. 20 leagues distant, very high and unequal land, with snow on the mountains.

12. S. Latt. 58° 0′; W. Long. 76° 15′; Azi. 24° 36′ E. Weather still holds pleasant, but very cold. Winds generally from the Eastward.

17. S. Latt. 60° 1′; W. Long. 82° 8′; Azi. 24° 30′ E. Winds since the 12th has been much from the Westward and blowd excessive

[1] Named after Jacob le Maire, who circumnavigated the world in 1615–1617.
[2] I. de los Estados.

fiery, with high seas. This day's Latitude is the highest South during the passage.

23. S. Latt. 57° 36′; W. Long. 84° 42′. A Seal playing round the ship. (Light winds.)

27. S. Latt. 54° 44′; W. Long. 86° 24′; Azi. 23° 52′ E. Cape Horn is *doubled*. Winds light from the west'd with frequent calms.

March 13. S. Latt. 43° 9′; W. Long. 88° 55′; Amp'd 15° 54′ E. Since 27th Feb'y winds have prevailed generally from the Westward, with moderate breezes and pleasant weather.

19. S. Latt. 40° 32′; W. Long. 88° 20′; Azi. 14° 28′ E. Light winds and pleasant.

21. S. Latt. 37° 43′; W. Long. 88° 7′; Azi. 14° 44′ E. Very pleasant weather. Some of the Crew have the Scurvy in the Gums.

24. S. Latt. 36° 56′; W. Long. 89° 7′; Azi. 13° 20′ E. Light winds from NW. and frequent Calms.

26. S. Latt. 34° 35′; W. Long. 88° 41′; Azi. 12° 51′ E.; Amp'd 12° 35′ E.; 2d Azi. 12° 47′ E. Very pleasant, and temperate light airs.

31. S. Latt. 30° 0′; W. Long. 89° 28′. Winds still from the westward with pleasant weather. Ship's Crew are in health.

Passage from Cape Horn to the NW. Coast.

April 2. S. Latt. 27° 17′; W. Long. 89° 38′; Azi. 11° 50′ E. ☉ ☾. This day took the SE. trades, and experienced a swell from the Northward. Weather very pleasant.

4. S. Latt. 24° 59′; W. Long. 93° 0′; Azi. 11° 34′ E. Swell from the Southward.

6. S. Latt. 22° 38′; W. Long. 96° 12′; Azi. 10° 14′ E. Steady trades and fair. Blackfish and Porpoises.

8. S. Latt. 20° 56′; W. Long. 98° 19′; Azi. 10° 26′ E. Very pleasant, with smooth sea, winds to the North of East.

9. S. Latt. 20° 32′; W. Long. 98° 55′; Azi. 9° 59′ E. Small winds.

10. S. Latt. 19° 41′; W. Long. 99° 56′; Azi. 9° 50′ E. Small winds.

11. S. Latt. 18° 50′; W. Long. 100° 29′; Amp'd 9° 12′ E. Small winds. Wind at ESE. Ship's Crew is many of them complaining.

12. S. Latt. 17° 57′; W. Long. 101° 24′; Azi. 9° 16′ E. A little Scurvy among the Crew.

15. S. Latt. 14° 9′; W. Long. 105° 28′; Azi. 9° 0′ E. Lively trade winds and pleasant serene breeze, with smooth water.

16. S. Latt. 12° 36′; W. Long. 106° 54′; Azi. 7° 50′ E. Do. Do.

22. S. Latt. 5° 37′; W. Long. 113° 39′; Azi. 6° 44′ E.; Amp'd 6° 32′ E. Saw a Turtle.

23. S. Latt. 4° 37′; W. Long. 114° 39′ ○ ☾. Between the hours of 3 and 4 P. M. Departed this life our dear friend *Nancy* the *Goat* having been the *Captain's* companion on a former voyage round the Globe, but her spirited disposition for adventure led her to undertake a second voyage of Circumnavigation; But the various changes of Climate, and sudden transition from the Polar Colds, to the tropical heats of the Torrid zone, prov'd too much for a constitution naturally delicate. At 5 P. M. Committed her body to the deep. She was lamented by those who got a share of her *Milk!!* Men of War Birds and Porpoises round.

26. S. Latt. 1° 59′; W. Long. 117° 23′; Azi. 6° 0′ E.; Amp'd 5° 34′ E. Pleasant weather. Saw a Turtle. Many Barracota and Dolphin round the ship.

28. S. Latt. 0° 50′; W. Long. 118° 35′; Azi. and Amp'd 5° 30′ E. Caught a shark; porpoises about the ship. Excessive warm.

29. S. Latt. 0° 5′; W. Long. 119° 13′; Azi. and Amp'd 5° 18′ E. ○ ☾. Gentle trades at ESE and pleasant. Four seamen laid *by*, with the Scurvey, their *mouths* and *legs* are very bad.

30. Both by Meridian and Double Altitudes N. Latt. 0° 50′; W. Long. 119° 59′; Azi. 5° 15′ E. Porpoises and Bonnetto round together with Tropic Birds and Boobies.

May 2. N. Latt. 3° 26′; W. Long. 121° 45′; Azi. 6° 28′ E. Sharks round, and Boobies. This day took the NE trade wind.

3. N. Latt. 4° 38′; W. Long. 122° 42′; Azi. 6° 52′ E. Squally weather porpoises round and many birds, on the wing.

8. N. Latt. 12° 34′; W. Long. 128° 5′; Fresh trade winds. Saw a turtle.

13. N. Latt. 20° 7′; W. Long. 132° 44′; Azi. 9° 1′ E. Fresh trade winds. Porpoises round. Weather pleasant.

15. N. Latt. 23° 9′; W. Long. 132° 33′; Azi. 9° 47′ E. Steady trade winds and very pleasant. Scurvy making progress.

At anchor in Cox's harbour or Clioquot on the NW. Coast.

17. N. Latt. 25° 35′; W. Long. 133° 43′; Azi. 9° 45′ E. Fresh trade winds and generally pleasant weather.

19. N. Latt. 27° 38′; W. Long. 134° 15′; Azi. 10° 41′. Do. Do. 7 Men off duty with the *scurvy*, their Gums is quite putrid, and *legs* as big round as their bodies and quite *numb*, (the worst of Complaints!!).

24. N. Latt. 34° 9′; W. Long. 135° 33′; Amp'd 12° 20′ E. This day lost the NE trades, and immediately took the wind from the westward.

31. N. Latt. 46° 47′; W. Long. 125° 50′; Azi. 17° 20′ E. Have had *generally* fresh breezes and cool weather since 24th with the winds *generally* from SW. Many birds round, among the rest some that look'd like Plovers. 6 People extreme bad, with the scurvy.

June 4. N. Latt. 49° 10′; W. Long. 120° 21′. This day made the land, on the NW. Coast of the American Continent between Nootka, (or King George's Sound) and Clioquot [1] (or Coxes harbour). For these severall days past we had seen whales, drift wood, feathers, kelp etc. All signs of its vicinity. Breakers pt. bore NEBE 8 leagues, high land back, and snow perceivable on some of the mountains. Wind from Southward.

5. N. Latt. 49° 5′; *Correct* W. Long. 125° 26′ ○ ☾. This day anchor in Coxes harbour, and found it very commodious. This Harbour is made remarkable by three remarkable round Hills, abreast its entrance. *Hannah*, Chief of the village Ahhousett came on board and appeared friendly. Above 300 of the Natives was alongside in the course of the day. Their canoes was made from the body of a tree, with stem, and stern, pieces, neatly fixed on. Their models was not unlike our Nantucket whale boats. The dress of these Indians was either the Skin of some Animal, or else a Blankett of their own manufactory, made of some kind of Hair. This garment was slung over the right shoulder. They all appear'd very friendly, brought us plenty of fish and greens. We tarry'd in this harbour till the 16th June, landed the sick, immediately on our arrival and pitch'd a tent for their reception, and although there was ten of them in the last stage of Scurvy, still they soon recover'd, upon smelling the turf, and eating greens of various kinds. We buried severall of our sick, up to the Hips, in the earth, and let them remain for *hours* in that situation. Found this method of great service. The principall village in this harbour is called *Opitsatah*, and is governed by Wickananish, a warlike Chief. He and his family visited us often. The Indians brought severall *Deer*, and plenty of Rock Cod, Salmon, and other fish. Wild parsley, and a root call'd *Isau* or Isop, by the natives and much resembling a small onion, was brought us in abundance. We purchas'd many of the Sea Otter skins in exchange for Copper, and blue Cloth. These Indians are of a large size, and somewhat corpulent. The Men wear no other covering, but the garment before mentioned, and seem to have no sense of shame, as they appear in a state of Nature. The Women stand in great fear of the Males, but appear to be naturally very modest. Their garment is manufactured from the bark of a tree and is well executed, being so constructed as to cover them complete

[1] Cayuela or Clayoquot.

from the Neck to the Ancle. Both Male and Female wear *Hats* of a conicle form made out of strong reeds. On them is painted, (in a rude manner) their mode of Whale fishery. *Attoo*, the Captain's servant (and a native of the Sandwich Isle) ran away, among the Indians. A chief coming on board, plac'd a guard over him, and sent his Canoe back to the village with the news. They soon return'd with *Mr. Atto*, and ransom'd their Chief.

17. This day weigh'd the anchors and left Coxe's harbour. Fine weather, wind at SW. All hands once again on duty. Make the people use Spruce Tea, boil'd from the Boughs we took on board, for that purpose and although not very palatable, I believe is an excellent *Antiscorbutic*. Bound along shore to the North and West. Saw woody point bearing ESE 3 or 4 leagues.

AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S COVE AND JUAN DE FUCA STRAITS.

20. N. Latt. 50° 6′; W. Long. 128° 12′. Moderate breezes. At 8 P. M. abreast Woody point, lay'd off and on, through the night. At daylight made sail, for Chickleset sound, out Pinnace, and sent her ahead of the Ship to sound. At 8 A. M. abreast the entrance of the sound. Hove to. At 10 the pinnace made the signall for an harbour. Bore away, wind at NW. At Meridian anchor'd in a small Cove, (which we named Columbias). In this situation we was completely land lock'd. Vast many natives alongside. They appear'd much the same as those at Coxs harbour and talkd their language. We laid in this harbour till the 26th, during which time got many Sea Otter and land furs, from the Natives, in exchange for Copper, Iron and Cloth, (with Beads, fish Hooks and such small stuff kept the Ship supplied with various kinds of fish and greens, with a few deer). These Natives was generally arm'd with Bows, arrows, and spears. Like those at Clioquot they would pilfer whenever an opportunity offer'd. Their *Women* were more Chaste than those we had lately left. But still they were not all *Dianas*. During our tarry here I visited one of the villages in the sound, found the Natives busily employ'd building Canoes, and packing provisions against the ensuing *Winter*. They treated me quite friendly. They dry their fish in the Sun, and then pack it in neat wooden *boxes*. ☞Necessity is the mother of *invention*.

26. This day left Columbia's Cove, and stood along shore towards the Straits of Juan De Fuca. Crew all well. Steering to the South and East'd. This is an Iron bound Coast, with high land back.

27. This day pass'd Clioquot, with a fine breeze from WNW and pleasant.

28. N. Latt. 48° 42′; W. Long. 124° 0′. Enter'd the Straits of Juan De Fuca and hove to abreast the Village of Nittenatt, found strong tides. Vast many Natives off, with Sea Otter and other Furs, which we purchas'd with the same articles as before. 'T was evident that these Natives had been visited by that scourge of mankind the Smallpox. The Spaniards, as the natives say, brought it among them. These Indians appear'd friendly.

N. Latt. 48° 23′; W. Long. 124° 0′ ☉ ☾ ✳ ☾. Kept beating about the entrance of De Fuca Straits till 3d July, on SE. parts (off a small Isle) call'd Tatooch, we collected many Otters. These natives gave the preference to Copper. Fine Halibut and Salmon was procured in abundance. Nails, Beads etc. serv'd for this traffic. This Chief at Tatooch's Isle offer'd to sell us some young Children they had taken in war.

July 3. N. Latt. 49° 1′; W. Long. 126° 20′. Left the Straits. At 6 P. M. Cape *Flattery* (so named by Capt. Cook) bore SEBE 8 leagues. Standing along shore to the Westward, wind from the East'd.

4. Took the wind from the Westward, employ'd beating to windward the land about 12 leagues. Many Whales.

At anchor in Barrell's Sound, in Queen Charlotte Isles.

8. N. Latt. 52° 10′; W. Long. 131° 12′. This day anchor'd in Barrells sound on the SE. part of the Queen Charlotte Isles, 20 fathom, rocky bottom. Sent the Pinnace, with an officer, to seek better anchorage, which was soon found. Got under way and stood up sound, and anchor'd in 15 fathom muddy bottom. A Chief by name *Coyac*, came along side, with plenty of other Indians. The Natives here are much stouter than any we had before seen, and appear to be very savage. The Men go quite naked, except a skin over the shoulder. The Women are entirely cover'd, with Garments of their own manufactory, from the bark of tree. They appear to carry full sway over the men and have an incision cut through the under lip, which they spread out with a piece of wood, about the size and shape of a goose egg (some much larger). It's considered as an ornament, but in my opinion looks very gastly. Some of them booms out two inches from the chin. The women appear very fond of their *offspring*, and the Men of both. We remain'd in this sound till the 17th. During which time we purchas'd a good lot of Sea Otter and other furs chiefly for Iron and Cloth. Copper was not in demand. The boats were sent frequently after wood and water, but were always well arm'd. The Natives supplied us with plenty

of Halibut and Rock Cod, for which we paid them in *Nails*. Wild fowl was plenty in this Sound, of which we caught and kill'd many. I landed at one of their villages, found the Indians comfortably lodg'd, and kept large fires, although the weather was temperate. When I went into one of their houses they was eating roast muscles and singing a warlike Song. They appear'd fond of our visit and never offer'd to molest any thing in the boat. Their canoes are not made near so neat as those we had seen before, but I think was more commodious. The females was not very chaste, but their lip pieces was enough to disgust any civilized being. However some of the Crew was quite partial.

In the Straits of Admiral Defont.

17. Weigh'd and left Barrells sound, bound to the Straits of Admiral De Font,[1] which is form'd by the Charlotte Isles and the *Main*.

18. N. Latt. 51° 34′. Wind from Westward and pleasant, beating to and fro, off the South pt. of Charlotte Isles, endeavouring to get into the Straits.

23. N. Latt. 52° 26′; W. Long. 131° 30′; Azi. 20° 22′ E. Spoke the Brig *Hope*, Joseph Ingrahim master from Boston, on the same business with ourselves. Soon parted.

24. N. Latt. 53° 6′. A small Isle, in the Straits bore North at Meridian, which we named *Hatches*. Weather is generally clear, so that the *Isles* and Main are distinctly seen together. Found ground at 120 fm. The Natives wou'd often come along side from the Main, or *Isles*, as we border'd on either shore, and brought furs and plenty of Halibut, which you cou'd buy for a board Nail apiece.

28. N. Latt. 53° 14′; W. Long. 132° 0′; Azi. 21° 35′ E. Ship over towards the Main. Sent an officer in the pinnace in search of anchorage. Found the land hereabouts low and barren near the shore, but rises back into high mountains. Find excessive strong currents in these Straits. The Natives on the Main speak a language different from those on the Islands. Boat returned without success.

30. N. Latt. 52° 47′; W. Long. 131° ☾. Fresh gales and stormy weather. At Meridian Charlotte Isles extended from SBW to WBN 8 or 10 leagues. Some Canoes full of Indians boarded us from the Isles. They inform'd us that severall English vessells had visited not long since. We purchased a good lot of furs, chiefly for Iron and Cloth.

31. Stood towards the Islands, and anchored in 24 fm. with a

[1] Rio de Rayer of Admiral Fonte.

Kedge. Light wind from NW. A Chief (by name *Cumswah*) brought us several fine Sea Otter skins.

August 1. Wind from SE. Standing along the Queen Charlotte Isles, through De Font straits, about 3 or 4 leagues from land, soundings generally from 15 to 25 fm. mud. The main land in sight to the North and West'd at a great distance.

2. Fresh gales and very thick weather. Narrowly escaped running on a reef of rocks. Quite foggy and see the land but seldom, beating to and fro. Wind from the Eastward.

3. N. Latt. 54° 43′; W. Long. 132° 23′. Heavy gales from SE. and thick weather, found the Ship embay'd, employ'd making short hanks. At length we being too nigh the shore for to keep off, through the night, we was alarm'd with all the horrors of a lee shore. A small opening appearing in the land to leeward, hove out the pinnace and sent an officer to examine for anchorage. At 6 in the evening she made a signal for a Harbour. Bore away and anchored under a point of land, in 17 fm. sandy bottom, let go three anchors, it being a wild road stead. We remain'd in this station, which we call'd Port *Tempest* till the 8th and only four Indians made their appearance, and I believe there was no villages in the vicinity. Made severall excursions, with boats, and procur'd many Salmon and plenty of Berries. In one of these excursions I discover'd a small *rivulet*, not deep enough to admit the boat. In it we caught upwards of 100 fine salmon, chiefly with the boat hook and grainz, and shot a deer upon the banks. Crew all in health.

8. Got under way and left Port Tempest (situated on the main land of America), stood over for land in sight to the North'd and westward, and as we approach'd it severall Canoes came off, with furs and halibut.

10. N. Latt. 55° 0′; W. Long. 133° 0′. Light winds and pleasant, standing to the NW. and 6 P. M. came to with the Kedge 28 fm. Port Tempest bearing NEBN. 12 leagues. The Natives brought us plenty of fine Otter furs. Their Canoes are the same as at Charlotte Isles, some of them capable of carrying 30 men. They go well arm'd, with bows, arrows and spears, and appear to be a savage race. I went in the Cutter — well arm'd — to a small cove, not far distant from the Ship, and soon caught 9 large Halibut. The Ship was concealed by a point of land, making out from the NE. part of the Cove.

12. Still laying at anchor in same situation as on the 10th, the nearest land not above ½ mile distant, and the point of the *Cove* I was fishing in on 10 inst. about ¼ mile. Mr. Caswell this morning took a Boatswain Mate and one Seaman with him in the Jolly Boat, by the permission of Capt. Gray, and went to the *Cove* a fishing.

A breeze springing up soon after, and wishing to leave this place, a six pounder was fird, a signal for the boat to return. She not appearing, soon after two more Cannon was fir'd. Got the Ship under way and stood off and on, and sent the pinnace under charge of the 4th officer in search of the small boat. Soon after we see the Pinnace returning with the Jolly Boat in tow, without any person in her and soon discover'd they had the Boats Colours hoisted half mast. With this melancholy token they approach'd the Ship, when we soon discover'd our worthy friend, and brother officer, Mr. *Joshua Caswell* (2d) lay dead in the bottom of the boat, strip'd perfectly naked and stab'd in upwards of twenty places. They saw nothing of John Folger (the boatswains mate) but Joseph Barnes (the Sailor) lay dead on the beach, and quite naked. Fearing the Natives lay in *ambush*, they did not land to take of the *Corps*. It is probable they were beset upon by a great superiority of natives, prompted by a desire to possess their cloaths and arms. As soon as the boats return'd made sail for *Port Tempest*, and anchord in the evening, at our former station. In Mr. Caswell I lost a firm and steady friend. He was a man of a mild and gentle temper, a complete Seaman, and in short was possest of every qualification that bespoke the gentleman. Observ'd that the day previous to this disastrous affair few Indians had visited the Ship.

NW. End of Charlotte Isle.

13. N. Latt. 54° 43′; W. Long. 132° 23′. Calm, and temperate weather. At 8 in the morning the 4th Officer was dispatch'd with a party well arm'd in the Pinnace, for to dig a grave for our worthy *friend*. At 9 the pinnace return'd. At 10 left the Ship with three boats, under charge of Mr. Hazwell, 1st Officer, with the corps, the Ship firing minute guns. At 11 Capt. Gray landed in a small boat, and after performing divine service, we *inter'd* the remains of our departed, and much beloved, *friend*, with all the solemnity we was capable of.

The place was gloomy, and nothing was to be heard but the bustling of an aged oak, whose lofty branches hung wavering o'er the grave, together with the meandering brook, the Cries of the Eagle, and the weeping of his friends added solemnity to the scene. So *ends*.

15. Weighed, and left Port Tempest, wind at NW. At sunset it bore NBW. 6 leagues, and (Massacre Cove) West 5 Miles. Saw none of the Natives. No doubt the Rascles wou'd have destroy'd the Jolly boat after they had massacred our unfortunate countrymen, had not the Ship's guns alarm'd them. Standing to the South and E.

16. This day spoke the Brig *Hancock* of Boston, Samuel Crowell, Master. They was on the same business as ourselves, and had been pretty successfull. Capt. Crowell inform'd that his Longboat was cruizing among the Charlotte Isles, under charge of his 2d Officer. The Brig kept us company.

18. Pleasant weather. Came to anchor, in a River, which Capt. Crowell had named Hancocks, situated on the NW. part of the Queen Charlotte Isles, in company with the Brig, 6 fm. water, mud. The Brig's Longboat we found at this place, vast many of the Natives along side the Ship, and a few furs was purchased. Capt. Crowell had, upon some trifling offence, fir'd upon these Indians, by which a number of them fell, (such wanton cruelty throws him upon a levell with the savage), and perhaps this same fray was the means of our losing our worthy 2d Officer as the places are not 20 leagues distant and mayhap they reck'd their Vengeance upon us, thinking us all of one tribe. If it was so, bad *luck to Crowell. Amen.*

At anchor in Clioquot harbour.

19. N. Latt. 54° 12′; W. Long. 132° 25′. Fine weather. The Hancock saild on a Cruize. The land about this River, is the best without exception I've yet seen, on the NW. Coast, and a place well calculated for a *Factory* for to reap the advantages of the fur trade. The Natives, I dare say, have always plenty of *Otters*, and there is fish in abundance. Hove up, and came to sail towards evening and stood to sea, light winds and very strong tides. At sunsett Murderers Cape bore NNW. at a great distance.

20. N. Latt. 53° 49′; W. Long. 133° 24′. Soundings from 7 to 12 fm., shoal water about these parts of Charlotte Isles. Standing to the Southward through Defont straits, running along the Isles in from 15 to 30 fm. according to distance off shore, these Charlotte Isles are from the Latt. 51° 55′ to 54° 24′ N. and from Longitude 131° 0′ to 133° W.

22. N. Latt. 53° 2′; W. Long. 131° 31′; Amp'd 20° 2′ E. ☉ ☾. Many of Indians of this day from Cumswah village, in Charlcot Isles, brought a few skins, but I think they are pretty well drain'd. Came to, with the Kedge in 20 fm. about 2 miles from shore. Soon after *see* a Boat rowing towards us, and heard a Cannon fir'd in the sound. At 3 P. M. Mr. Cruft, 1st Officer of the American Brig *Hope* (which we had spoke with before) came along side, with Capt. Ingrahim's compliments, and offer'd to be the bearer of Letters, as he was shortly bound for Canton. We readily embraced the *opportunity.* At dark Mr. Cruft left us. Up Kedge and bore away to the southward and East'd.

23. N. Latt. 52° 37′; W. Long. 130° 22′. The SE. part of Charlotte Isles bore SE½E. 12 leagues, light winds and variable. A Canoe boarded us, at this great distance, and brought many prime furs.

28. N. Latt. 49° 20′; W. Long. 127° 16′. At Noon this day, Nootka (or King Georges sound) bore ENE. 10 leagues. Since the 23d we have never lost sight of the Continent. 'T is very high land. Saw *whales*.

29. N. Latt. 49° 5′; W. Long. 126° 0′. At Noon the entrance of Clioquot (or Coxes harbour) bore NE 4 leagues. Standing in for the harbour, and towards evening anchor'd in our former station, vast many of the Natives along side, and seem'd glad to see us again. Found riding here the Brig *Lady Washington*, of Boston, John Kendrick, *master*. He had made up his Voyage and was bound for Canton. He appear'd happy in meeting with his old friends.

N. Latt. 49° 9′; W. Long. 125° 26′ ☉ ☾ ✶ ☾. Captain Kendrick inform'd us that he had had a skirmish, with the Natives at *Barrells* sound in Queen Charlotte Isles, and was oblidg'd to kill upwards of 50 of them before they wou'd desist from the attack. It appear'd to me, from what I cou'd collect that the Indians was the aggressors. This Brig *Lady Washington* was a Sloop when she left Boston, but Capt. Kendrick had alterd her rig in Canton the year before. I was sorry to find that *Kendrick* had made no remittances, to the owners, since he had parted with the *Columbia* the first voyage, although since that period he had made two successful trips from this Coast to Canton. As the Vessells still belong'd to the same owners he was under some mistrust that Capt. Gray was empower'd to seize the Brig. and kept himself always ready against attack. We tarried in this harbour till the 8th Sept., during which time collected many Sea Otter and other furs, and fish in abundance. These Natives miss'd Mr. Caswell, and it was thought proper to inform them that he had died a *natural death*.

September 8. Weighed and beat out of the harbour, wind at SW. At Noon Clioquot bore NW. 6 leagues standing towards Juan De Fuca straits.

In the Straits of Juan De Fuca.

11. N. Latt. 48° 15′; W. Long. 124° 30′. This day abreast Cape Flattery, on the SE. part of De Fuca entrance, vast many of the Natives along. Purchas'd many *Otters*. These Indians told us, there was five sail of Spaniards up the straits. At Midnight saw *Tatoosh* Isle, bearing NNE. 3 miles. Thought ourselves further off shore. Almost calm, and an excessive strong tide sweeping us between some ledges and the Isle. At daylight thick fog, saw the Rocks

a head, within pistol shot, with high breakers. Out all Boats, and just towed the Ship clear. Our situation was truly alarming, but we had no business so near the land in thick weather. However *Good Luck* prevail'd and a breeze springing up from offshore we stretch'd out clear in *Boats*. Foggy disagreeable weather. Cou'd observe at intervals that the woods were on fire.

12. Wind NE. Heard the roaring of Breakers, foggy, haul'd more off shore. At 3 P. M. saw a rock about stone's throw distant, and narrowly escaped being dash'd upon it — damn nonsense to keep beating about among rocks, in foggy weather. At midnight heard the surf roar again, which I suppose to be on the North side of the Straits, sounded and found ground at 25 fm. Rocks. The Captain, at length, was frightned, and proceeded with the Ship to a good offing (this ought to have been done long before), thick foggy weather, with a moderate breeze.

16. N. Latt. 48° 14′; W. Long. 124° 30′ ☾ ✳. Fog clear'd off, saw Capt *Flattery* bearing NNE. 2 leagues. Very strong tides. At Noon we were about 2 miles from Tatooch Isle. Came to with the Kedge, sandy bottom, the Island bearing North. I think it possible there is a passage between Cape Flattery and this Isle of Tatooch; it appears about 2 miles wide. However cou'd see breakers between them and currents are excessive strong, as we cou'd discern them to foam in that narrow pass. Many Natives came off, and we purchas'd a few skins and plenty *Halibut*. Weigh'd and came to sail towards evening, bound to *Clioquot*.

At anchor in Clioquot harbour.

18. N. Latt. 49° 9′; W. Long. 125° 26′. This day anchor'd in our Old Station in Clioquot harbour, found the Brig *Lady Washington* still riding here. At this Harbour Captain Gray had determin'd to winter, if he cou'd find a suitable place, for to build a Sloop of 45 Tons, for to assist in collecting furs, on the next season. The stem and stern post, with part of the floor timbers had been brought from Boston for this purpose.

19. On the 19th Capt. Gray went with two boats up the sound, for to seek a convenient cove. In the evening the Captain return'd, having found a place to his mind, about 4 leagues from where the Ship lay.

Winter Quarters. Latt. 49° 9′ N; Long. 125° 30′ W.

20. On the 20th weigh'd, with light airs, and with the Boats ahead, assisted by the Brig's Crew, we tow'd, and sail'd, into winter

quarters, which we call'd Adventure Cove, and moor'd Ship for the winter. Vast many of the Natives along side, and appear'd to be highly pleas'd with the Idea of our tarrying among them through the Cold Season. The *Columbia* lay moor'd in this Cove till the 25th of March, 1792. I shall endeavour to give the heads of our proceedings during that period.

Adventure Cove was situated in about the Latitude of 49° 15′ N. and Longitude 125° 30′ W. of London, about 17 miles from the Ocean. This Cove was form'd by an Isle and the SE. shore of Clioquot sound — so small, that when the Ship was moor'd, you might throw a stone upon the beach in any direction, the passage in was not to exceed 100 feet, so that we was in a complete *bason*. (At *25th inst. Capt. Kendrick sail'd for Canton.*) The *Adventure* was set up at the back of a fine beach, the woods being previously clear'd. A Log House was erected near, mounted with two Cannon, with Loop holes for Musketry. Here Capt. Haswell, with a party of Seamen, and all the Mechanics was station'd. Near it, the Blacksmiths and Boat builders Shops were plac'd; two Saw pitts was erected, and kept constantly at play, sawing *planks*, and was supplied with Logs from the sound, by Boats constantly on that duty. So that Adventure Cove soon had the appearance of a *young ship yard*. Strip'd the Ship to a gritline, and kept a gang under the directions of the Boatswain upon the rigging.

The Natives made us frequent visits, and brought a good supply of fish and some Sea Otter Skins, and by keeping a small boat down sound, with 4 of our Seamen we procured a constant supply of wild Geese, Ducks and Teal. The Geese and Teal resembled those at home, but the Ducks were exactly of the same Species, with the *tame* of our Country. We see none of any other kind. Now and then we shot a wild *turkey*. The Natives appear'd to be highly pleased with the different works going on at the Cove. They sometimes brought us *Venison* and supplied us with as many *boards* as we wanted. *They* was all cæder, and appear'd to have been split with wedges, from the Log.

October 7. An alarm was given by the *Centry* at the Block house, that there was *Canoes* in the Cove. Finding they was discover'd they soon went off.

13. The frame of the Sloop was up complete, and this day brought the Garboard streak of Plank to her bottom. This is what I call dispatch. *Wickananish*, high Chief, came on board, with severall of the Royal family. He inform'd that his winter village was a great way off, which occasion'd his visiting us so seldom. He went on shore, and astonishment was conspicuous in his countenance at the work going on there. The Natives was very much

puzzled to know how we shou'd get the Sloop off when finish'd, as she was 75 foot back from high water mark. Wickananish is the most powerfull chief we have yet seen on this Coast. His tribe consists of upwards of 3000 souls. They allow Polygamy, but the women are not prolific, as barrenness is very common among them. The Indians girls kept us well supplied with *Berries* of different kinds, which was very gratefull.

14. We was inform'd this day that Capt. Crowell, in the Brig *Hancock*, was at Juan de Fuca straits.

27. The Natives brought us some excellent Salmon. Experience much rain, which hinders the work. When the weather is too bad for to work on the *Sloop*, keep the Carpenters under shelter making a *boat* for her. Heard of three Spanish Ships being at Nootka. Keep always upon our guard against surprize as we are among a powerfull sett. The boat after game, met with some *Indians* that was a little troublesome, but by firing a musket over their heads they soon went off. These Indians was very enquisitive, for to know the cause of thunder and lightning, but we cou'd not make them understand the real cause, but much surprized them by saying there was a man in our Country, that made both. They suppose thunder to be occasioned by an Eagle carrying a Whale into the air, and *Lightning*, the hissing of a *Snake*, *which* are exceeding large in this country. One of our Seamen, being down sound a gunning, saw one of these animals, which by his discription was as big round as his thigh. Being alone, and somewhat frightned, retir'd without firing. These Indians are very superstitious in regard to this Animal, for when they go on a whaling cruize they always rub their face with a piece of it. We have never been able to gain much information as respects their Religion, but they certainly pay adoration to the *Sun*, and *Moon*, and believe in Good and evil Spirits. They lash their dead on the trees, first stowing them in a box 3 or 4 feet long. The Head and Legs are cut off to make good stowage, and little valuables that belong to the deseas'd are bury'd with them. Capt. Gray went to an Indian Village for to look at a *Chief*, said to be very sick. On his arrivall he was received very cordially, and conducted to the sick man's house, which was full of people. In one Corner lay the Sick Chief, and around him eight stout men, which kept pressing his stomach with their hands, and making a most hideous Bow-wowing, in the poor fellow's ears. Upon the Captain's approach, he suppos'd the Cheif to be nearly dead, and order'd this band of *Doctors* to desist. Having made him some *gruell* to take, the Chief soon came to a little, and order'd two Sea Otter skins as a present. After giving him a Wine toast he order'd him to be left to sleep, and visited a number of Chiefs

December 22.

houses, the masters of which treated him with an attention not very common among savages. (He *returned on board.*) I made an excursion to this same Village, not long after. As soon as I landed, Men, Women, and Children came down to the beach to receive me, but did not offer to molest the boat. Found the sick *Chief* much better, and reliev'd him from his pressing and noisy friends. The house was large and commodious, and wou'd hold fifty *Indians* very comfortably. All round was packages of Fish in *Boxes*, and decorated with *pearl shells*. Their furniture consisted chiefly of matts, and wooden boxes, which last serves to boil their fish in, which they easily do by applying red hot stones, till it boils. They neither scale or draw the fish, but as it comes from the water, so it goes into the box, to boil, or on the Coals to broil. There was severall fires about the house but being there being no chimnies, the smoak was too mighty for my eyes. They sleep on boards, rais'd about a foot from the ground, and cover'd with matts, rolling themselves up with furs. Over the sick man's head there was a board cut out in the shape of a heart, and stuck full of Otter's teeth, with a long spear on each side of him. His young wife did not appear to be affected at the sight of her sick husband, but the Father and Mother was watching their Son, with the most parental affection. After boiling him some rice and leaving more with his mother, I left the village and returned safe on board.

25. This day was kept in mirth and festivity by all the *Columbia's* Crew, and the principal Chiefs of the sound, by invitation, din'd on board ship. The Natives took a walk round the work shops on shore. They was surprized at seeing three tier of wild fowl roasting, at one of the houses — indeed we was a little surprized at the novelty of the sight ourselves, for at least there was 20 Geese roasting at one immense fire, and the Ship's Crew appear'd very happy, most of them being on shore. The Indians cou'd not understand why the Ship's and houses was decorated with spruce bows. At 12 clock fir'd a federall Salute, and ended the day toasting our *sweethearts* and *wifes*.

1792. *January* 1. This day, being down sound, with the Jolly boat after game, I stopt at the village. Visited *Vethlan* the sick Chief, and found him much better. The family treated me extremely well. I received many pressing invitations from the rest of the Chiefs, for to visit their houses, and complied with most of them, and was particularly pleas'd at visiting *Wickananish's* dwelling, who this day had given an entertainment to all the warriors of his Villages, with many visitors from distant villages. As soon as the *King* saw me I was call'd towards him, and seated upon his right. This house was about 80 foot long, and 40 broad, and about 12 feet

high, with a flat roof. The *King* was elevated about two feet higher than the company, with a Canopy over his head, stuck full of animals teeth. The Company consisted of above 100 men, all considerably advanced in years. The Women belonging to the house was in an apartment by themselves, busily employ'd making their Bark Garment. The Machines for that purpose, is not unlike the Looms with us. They are very neat and dexterous in this business. The entertainment (which consisted of Fish Spawn mixed with Berries and train Oil,) was served up in wooden Bowls, handed by the lower Orders of males. I was invited strongly to partake, but the Smell was enough — therefore pleaded indisposition. After they had done, the remains was sent to the *females*. The King inform'd they was going to have a dance in the evening, and wish'd me for to stay. However I declin'd, and return'd on board. This Village was 3 leagues from Adventure Cove. Capt. Hannah, a Chief of the village Ahhousett, sometimes came to see his old friends (as he call'd us). He resided 9 leagues from the Cove but was under the Jurisdiction of *Wickananish*.

6. This day one of the Chiefs of Juan De Fuca Straits came on board. He was upon a visit to Wickananish, and indeed had married his sister, inform'd us there was a Spanish Ship in the Straits, brought many *furs*.

17. Began to caulk the Sloop *Adventure's* bottom, it being completely planked up. I this day made an excursion to the Village, having put myself under the care of Tatoochkasettle, one of the King's brothers, who conducted me in his *Canoe*. Upon my arrival was treated as usuall very politely. I took up my residence at Tatoochkasettle's house, who invited a large company to sup with him. After supper finding I wishd to visit some other familys he sent his servants with lighted torches, for to conduct me. I return'd back about Midnight and found that there was an excellent watch kept throughout the village, each one hooping at certain intervals throughout the night. My Indian friend had made me as comfortable a berth to sleep on as was in his power, but the House being full of smoak, and the young Children very fractious, occasion'd my sleeping but little all night. In the morning early observ'd most of the Men bathing on the Beach. On enquiring the cause, was inform'd that this day the King was going to give his Eldest Son the name of Wickananish, and take another upon himself, upon which account there was to be great rejoicings. About noon, upwards of 100 men assembled upon the beach in front of the *Village*, with the King at their head. Their dress, which was exactly uniform, consisted of a *Blankett*, made fast round the *Loins* with a Girdle, and reach'd about half way down their thighs. Their hair

was turn'd up, and tyed with a thick bunch before and decorated with feathers. Their faces was painted of different colours, and their bodies of a deep red. Beads and fibres of Bark were woulded round their Ancles and Knees, and at a distance they made a grand, although savage appearance. They collected near the water, at one end of the village, in regular tiers, about four deep. At each wing many women were placed with Copper Boxes, in which was small Stones, serving as part of the music. The procession moved slowly along, the front squatting on their hams, the others standing erect, with three of the King's brothers upon their shoulders, who were dancing and running from right to left, in that position while those under them was on the Continual move. The King kept in front, giving the word of Command. All their voices kept perfect tune with the rattling of the boxes. The rest of the inhabitants were seated along the beach viewing the performance. When they arrived opposite the King's house, they enter'd single file, and I followed to see the transactions within doors. About 30 of the principal *Actors* seated themselves in a Circle, and was presented with a piece of board and a small stick. This they used instead of a Drum. The whole Company then began to dance and sing, and the Musicians joining, made it very pleasing. But the *Smell* was too strong for my *Organs*. Therefore soon drew off. These *Natives* are mild and chearfull, with little of that savage appearance that Savages generally have. Their Complexions is very light Copper, but they darken it with Oil and Paint. The Hair is coarse, long and black. 'T is a general custom to eat their own *Vermin*, and they are so plenty that they will often make a decent repast. The Men are generally thick set with flat noses and broad faces. The Women are pretty. Their eyes are rather small, and though they are not very quick and piercing, they give the countenance a frank, chearfull, and pleasing cast. We understood from the *Natives* that they sometimes made Human sacrifices, and shocking to relate, that they eat the flesh of such poor *victims*. However I do not believe that this custom is very common and only happens on some very particular Occasion. A prisoner of War is the person selected for this savage feast.

18. This day severall chiefs came on board, one of which we found was busily employ'd talking with our Sandwich Island lad. Their conversation was soon put a stop to, and the *Lad* examin'd, but he denyd that the Chief ask'd him any improper questions. These Natives, always behaving so friendly, occasion'd us to place too much confidence in them, and what a pity it is, that we cou'd not leave this *port*, with that opinion of them which we had heretofore held; But alas! We find them to be still a savage tribe, and only waiting an opportunity for to Massacre the whole of us, in cold

blood. The Ship had been brought some days previous to this, to a bluff point of Rocks, where she lay'd as to a wharfe, not even touching the ground at low water. The Cannon and all the stores was landed here, as we was about hauling on the beach to grave and pay the Bottom. The situation of the Ship at this period was very favorable to their views, and must have encouraged them with the hope of destroying the whole of us; without the loss of a man on their side. However in this they wou'd have been mistaken, as we kept a strong watch, under the conduct of an Officer and was always guarded against surprize. But shou'd we have been overpow'd by numbers, our friends perhaps never wou'd have known our sad fate.

But fortunately, in the evening, the Sandwich Island lad made a confession to his Master, (as follows). He said *Tatoochkasettle*, (the Chief) told him, that Wickananish was about to take the Ship and Massacre all the Crew, and said he shou'd be a great man if he wou'd wet our *Musketts*, and steal for him some *Bulletts*. He said they shou'd come that night, or the next, and told him to come over to them, when the fray first began. This news alarm'd the Ship's Company exceedingly, and we immediately got in readiness to receive them. Capt. Gray call'd his officers together, for to consult what was best to be done, and we was unanimously of opinion that 't was best to haul the Ship on the *ways*, and grave her, as the tide then suited, and we cou'd retreat in safety to the Block House shou'd the Natives appear, (where we had several *Cannon* mounted and good *quarters*.) This plan was immediately put in execution, leaving a strong guard on the point for to guard the *Stores*, with necessary signals shou'd they want relief. By midnight one side of the Ship was finish'd, when we heard a most hideous hooping of *Indians*, and at every shout they seem'd to come nearer. Every man immediately took his arms, and stood ready, both on board ship and at the Log house. They kept hooping about one hour, when they ceas'd and 't is probable retreated, lamenting their hard luck, that the cruel plan was so completely frustrated. The guard at the *point* saw many large Canoes off the entrance of the Cove, but like brave fellows, they scorn'd to quit the station. In the morning tide we finish'd the Ship, and haul'd again to the point, and in the course of the Day took on board all the stores and cannon, and moor'd off in the Cove, in our old berth. Scal'd the Guns, which made all rattle again, and I believe never was more work done in so short a time. But *Men determin'd* can do most any thing.

It does not appear that *Wickananish* wish'd to conquer a part of us, as he had frequent opportunitys to have accomplish'd it, for two or three times a week a boat was down at the *Village*, generally with an Officer and four Sailors, but I suppose he very prudently

thought, that shou'd he cut a boat's Crew off, there was still enough left, for to destroy his Villages. The Chiefs had been telling us for some time that they was going to war with a distant tribe and wish'd for us to lend them Musketts and Ammunition, which *some* of these fellows used as well as ourselves. We had observed of late that they did not seem so cheerfull as common, but seem'd to be deeply wrapt in thought. After this, no more of the Natives visited Adventure Cove, except some old women and young girls, who brought us berries and fish — and most probable they was sent as *spies*.

March 4. This day the Ship was completely rig'd, hold stowed, and in every respect in readiness for sea. She look'd like a *fiddle!* The King's Mother came along side and brought some otter skins which we purchased. She told Captain Gray that the *Moon* inform'd her Son if he come to the Ship he wou'd be killd.

21. This day departed this life, after a lingering sickness, Benj. Harding (*Boatswain*). He was a smart, active, and steady man, and one that know'd, and did *his* duty in every respect. Deposited his remains, next morning, near to the Block house, after performing divine service. Promoted a Seaman to his place.

22. Launch'd the Sloop *Adventure*. She went off admirably. Took a hawser and got her along side the Ship, and soon had her rig'd.

24. The Sloop *Adventure* is ready for sea. Capt. Haswell, 1st mate of ship, went on board and took charge, taking with him Mr. Waters (4th mate) and a crew of ten Seamen and tradesmen. I think she was one of the prettiest vessells I ever saw, of about 45 tons, with a handsome figure head and false badges, and otherways touch'd off in high stile. There was not a Butt either in the Planks on deck or sides, and the plank not above nine inches wide. She was victuall'd for a four months cruize, and supplied with Articles for the Queen Charlotte Isles trade, on which route 't was meant she shou'd go, while the Ship proceeding along the Southern Coast.

25. Pleasant weather, wind at SE. In the morning got the Remainder of our affairs from the shore, and unmoor'd. Left Adventure Cove, and stood down Sound, with the Sloop in company. We left our log houses all standing. Anchor'd abreast the Village *Opitsatah*, but found it entirely deserted. Observ'd very few Canoes moving.

During our long tarry in Adventure Cove, we all enjoy'd good health, although the Crew was at times very much exposed. The *boatswain's* sickness commenced before our arrival in the Cove. The Weather was generally very fine, and very seldom had Snow, and never Ice thicker than a Spanish Dollar, but experienced fre-

quent heavy rains. We pick'd Whurtle and Blue berries, throughout the winter, which was very fine, and Whurtle Berry pudings was quite common with us. We kept the Crew continually supplied with Spruce beer, and their breakfast and supper was Tea boild from the green *Spruce* boughs sweetned with Molasses. Perhaps this method kept the Scurvy off. However they did not eat much Salt provisions, as we was generally supplied with Poultry, Venison, and fish.

27. I am sorry to be under the necessity of remarking that this day I was *sent*, with three boats all well man'd and arm'd, to destroy the village of Opitsatah. It was a Command I was no ways tenacious of, and am grieved to think Capt. Gray shou'd let his passions go so far. *This* village was about half a mile in diameter, and contained upwards of 200 Houses, generally well built for *Indians;* every door that you enter'd was in resemblance to an human and Beasts head, the passage being through the mouth, besides which there was much more rude carved work about the dwellings some of which was by no means *inelegant*. This fine village, the work of Ages, was in a short time totally destroy'd.

Cruizing to the S. and E. of De Fuca Straits

April 2. Weigh'd in company with the Sloop, and left Clioquot harbour, and stood to the South'd with the Ship, while the Sloop haul'd her wind to the Northward. Parted, with loud *Huzzas*, a proper *rendevous* being appointed.

3. On the 3d passed De Fuca Straits, experience blowing weather on the coast, but generally keep sight of the Land. The Shore seems sandy, and the land of a moderate height, with much clear ground fit for cultivation. Lat. 45° 15′. There is regular soundings of this Coast, which is not the case to the Northward.

7. N. Latt. 44° 56′; W. Long. 122° 52′. Very blowing weather, and quite cold. Beating off the Coast, waiting for to find a good harbour. The weather grows pleasant.

9. N. Latt. 44° 24′; W. Long. 122° 17′. Pleasant weather, wind NW. Running along shoar to the South and East'd, about 2 miles off the land trended NBE. and NBW., and look'd very pleasant. The Shore made in sandy beaches, and the land rose gradually back, into high hills and the beautiful fields of grass, interspersed among the wood lands, made it delightfull.

10. N. Latt. 43° 45′; W. Long. 122° 11′. Abreast a small inlet in the land, which had some the appearance of an harbour. Hove to for some canoes that were coming off. These Natives talk'd a different language from any we have before heard. Their canoes

had square stems, and the blades of the paddles oval. We purchas'd of them many fine Otter skins for Copper and Iron. They had some raw *Buffaloe* in the canoes, which they offer'd us for sale, and greedily devourd some of it, in that state, as a recommendation. I'm fearfull these fellows are *Caniballs*. Mr. *Smith*, 2d Officer, was sent in the Cutter to look for an harbour but was unsuccessfull. Bore off and made sail. Cape Gregory (so call'd by Capt. Cook) bore SE. Variation. Amp'd 15° 57′ East.

11. N. Latt. 42° 50′; W. Long. 122° 3′; Amp'd 16° 42′ E. Some Canoes came along side full of Indians and brought a few Otter and Beaver Skins. Cape Mendocin bore ESE. 2 leagues. Hauld again to the Northward.

17. N. Latt. 44° 54′; W. Long. 122° 23′; Azi. 16° 57′ E. Sent the Boat, under charge of 2d officer, to examine an inlet abreast the Ship, to see if there was safe anchorage, but was *unsuccessfull*. A large Canoe came along side full of the Natives. By their behaviour the *Columbia* was the first ship *they* ever saw.

22. N. Latt. 46° 39′; W. Long. 122° 50′; Azi. 17° 33′ E. Still beating about, in pursuit of anchorage. Sent the boat in shore often, but cou'd find no safe harbour. The Natives frequently came along side, and brought Otter furs and fish. Their language to us was unintelligible. Experience strong currents setting to the southward. We have frequently seen many appearances of good harbours, but the currents and squally weather hinderd us from a strict examination. However Capt. Gray is determin'd to persevere in the pursuit.

AT ANCHOR OFF THE VILLAGE KENEKOMITT.

27. N. Latt. 47° 52′; W. Long. 123° 30′. ☉ ☾. This day stood in shore, the weather having become more settled, and anchor'd with the Kedge in 15 fm. sand, abreast a village, call'd by the Natives *Kenekomitt*, which was situate on a small Hill, just back of the Beach. The Indians brought us a fine lot of *Skins*, which we got chiefly for Copper, but the weather coming again unsettled, we weigh'd towards evening and stood off making short hanks off and on, shore. These Indians spoke the same language as those in De Fuca straits.

28. This day spoke his Britannic Majesty's Ships *Discovery* and *Chatham*, commanded by Capt. George *Vancover*, and Lieutenant Wm. Broughton, from England, on a voyage of discovery. Left England April 1st, 1791, Do. Otaheita January, '92, and Sandwich Isles March, '92. A boat boarded us from the *Discovery*, and we gave them all the information in our power. Especially as respected the Straits of Juan De Fuca, which place they was then in search of.

They bore away for the Straits mouth, which was not far distant. Stood in and drain'd the village we was at yesterday and then bore off after the English ships.

29. Pass'd Tatooch Isle, close on board, and left a large ledge of Rocks without us, and stood into the Straits of De Fuca. Many Indians came off and brought plenty of furs. The English ships came too towards evening on the South entrance of the straits. In the morning they got under way and stood up. We stood in and anchor'd, to the Westward of Cape Flattery, in 17 fm. Trade not very brisk. Got under weigh again towards evening and stood to the S. and E. along shore.

May 1. N. Latt. 47° 52′; W. Long. 123° 30′; Azi. 17° 30′ E. Anchor'd off the Village Kenekomitt, in the place we left on the 27th April. Tatooch Isle bore WBS. 2 leagues. A brisk trade for furs.

3. Hove up and made sail for the Straits, the weather looking threatning and soon enter'd them, found smooth water. Kept beating to and fro, in preference to casting anchor.

5. Stood in towards Tatooch's Isle. The Natives brought plenty of *Halibut* and other fish, but few *Skins*. Stretch'd out from De Fuca Straits and bore off to the S. and E., running along shore, about 2 miles from land.

6. Hove to for some Canoes to come up. They brought us fish but no *skins*. Bore off. These fellows belong'd to a small village in sight from the Ship, call'd *Goliew*.

At anchor in Gray's harbour.

7. N. Latt. 46° 58′. Saw an inlet in the land, which had all the appearance of an harbour. Sent the Cutter, under charge of 2d Officer, to examine it. Laying to, a strong current with Squally weather. The Boat returnd, and the Officer reported that he cou'd find nothing but breakers at the entrance, but farther in it had the appearance of a good harbour. This appearance being so flattering, Capt. Gray was determin'd not to give it up. Therefore ordering the boat a head to sound, with necessary signalls, the Ship stood in for the weather bar and we soon see from the Mast head a passage in between the breakers. Bore off and run in NEBE., having from 4 to 9 fathom sand, an exceeding strong tide setting out. The boat having made a signal for anchorage and a good harbour, we continued to stretch on till completely within the shoals when we anchor'd in 5 fm. in an excellent harbour. Vast many canoes came off, full of Indians. They appear'd to be a savage set, and was well arm'd, every man having his Quiver and Bow slung over his shoulder. Without doubt we are the first Civilized people that ever

visited this port, and these poor fellows view'd us and the Ship with the greatest astonishment. Their language was different from any we have yet heard. The Men were entirely naked, and the Women, except a small Apron before made of *Rushes*, was also in a state of Nature. They was stout made, and very ugly. Their canoes was from the Logs, rudely cut out, with upright ends. We purchas'd many furs and fish.

8. N. Latt. 46° 58′; W. Long. 123° 0′. Vast many canoes along side, full of Indians. They brought a great many furs which we purchas'd cheap, for Blankets and Iron. We was fearfull to send a Boat on discovery, but I've no doubt we was at the Entrance of some great river, as the water was brackish, and the tide set out half the time. This evening heard the hooting of Indians, all hands was immediately under arms. Several canoes was seen passing near the Ship, but was dispers'd by firing a few Muskets over their heads. At Midnight we heard them again, and soon after, as 't was bright moonlight, we see the canoes approaching to the Ship. We fird severall cannon over them, but still persisted to advance, with the war Hoop. At length a large canoe with at least 20 Men in her got within ½ pistol shot of the quarter, and with a Nine pounder, loaded with langerege[1] and about 10 Muskets, loaded with Buck shot, we dash'd her all to pieces, and no doubt kill'd every soul in her. The rest soon made a retreat. I do not think that they had any conception of the power of Artillery. But they was too near us for to admit of any hesitation how to proceed.

9. Very pleasant weather. Many canoes came along side from down River and brought plenty of Skins; likewise some canoes from the tribes that first visited us, and their countenances plainly show'd that those unlucky savages who last Night fell by the Ball, was a part of the same tribe, for we cou'd plainly understand by their signs and gestures that they were telling the very circumstance, to their acquaintances from down River, and by Pointing to the Cannon, and endeavouring to explain the noise they made, made us still more certain that they had no Knowledge of fire arms previous to our coming amongst them. I am sorry we was oblidged to kill the poor Devils, but it cou'd not with safety be avoided. These Natives brought us some fine Salmon, and plenty of Beaver Skins, with some Otters, and I believe had we staid longer among them we shou'd have done well.

[1] Langrage, case-shot loaded with pieces of iron of irregular shape, formerly used in naval warfare to damage the rigging and sails of the enemy. The origin of the word is not known. Captain John Smith mentions in his Seaman's Grammar (1627) langrill shot, but a century and a half passed before langrage came into use.

11. Weigh'd and came to sail, and stretch'd clear of the bar. Named the harbour we had left, after our Captain. Standing to the South.

AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S RIVER.

12. N. Latt. 46° 7′; W. Long. 122° 47′. This day saw an appearance of a spacious harbour abreast the Ship, haul'd our wind for it, observ'd two sand bars making off, with a passage between them to a fine river. Out pinnace and sent her in ahead and followed with the Ship under short sail, carried in from ½ three to 7 fm. and when over the bar had 10 fm. water, quite fresh. The River extended to the NE. as far as eye cou'd reach, and water fit to drink as far down as the *Bars*, at the entrance. We directed our course up this noble *River* in search of a Village. The beach was lin'd with Natives, who ran along shore following the Ship. Soon after, above 20 Canoes came off, and brought a good lot of Furs, and Salmon, which last they sold two for a board Nail. The furs we likewise bought cheap, for Copper and Cloth. They appear'd to view the Ship with the greatest astonishment and no doubt we was the first civilized people that they ever saw. We observ'd some of the same people we had before seen at Gray's harbour, and perhaps that was a branch of this same River. At length we arriv'd opposite to a large village, situate on the North side of the River, about 5 leagues from the entrance. Came to in 10 fm. sand, about ¼ mile from shore. The River at this place was about 4 miles over. We purchas'd 4 Otter Skins for a Sheet of Copper, Beaver Skins, 2 Spikes each, and other land furs, 1 Spike each.

We lay in this place till the 20th May, during which time we put the Ship in good order and fill'd up all the *water* casks along side, it being very good. These Natives talk'd the same language as those farther South, but we cou'd not learn it. Observ'd that the canoes that came from down river, brought no otter skins, and I believe the otter constantly keeps in Salt water. They however always came well stocked with land furs, and capital Salmon. The tide set down the whole time and was rapid. Whole trees sometimes come down with the *Stream*. The Indians inform'd us there was 50 Villages on the banks of this river.

15. N. Latt. 46° 7′; W. Long. 122° 47′. On the 15th took up the anchor, and stood up River, but soon found the water to be shoal so that the Ship took the ground, after proceeding 7 or 8 miles from our first station. However soon got off again. Sent the Cutter and found the main Channel was on the South side, and that there was a sand bank in the middle. As we did not expect to procure Otter furs at any distance from the Sea, we contented ourselves in our

present situation, which was a very pleasant one. I landed abreast the ship with Capt. Gray to view the Country and take possession,[1] leaving charge with the 2d Officer. Found much clear ground, fit for cultivation, and the woods mostly clear from underbrush. None of the Natives come near us.

18. Shifted the Ship's berth to her Old Station abreast the Village *Chinoak*, command'd by a chief name *Polack*. Vast many canoes, full of Indians, from different parts of the River were constantly along side. Capt. Gray named this river *Columbia's*, and the North entrance Cape Hancock, and the South Point, *Adams*. This River in my opinion, wou'd be a fine place for to set up a *Factory*. The Indians are very numerous, and appear'd very civil (not even offering to steal). During our short stay we collected 150 Otter, 300 Beaver, and twice the Number of other land furs. The river abounds with excellent *Salmon*, and most other River fish, and the Woods with plenty of Moose and Deer, the skins of which was brought us in great plenty, and the Banks produces a ground Nut, which is an excellent substitute for either bread or Potatoes. We found plenty of Oak, Ash, and Walnut trees, and clear ground in plenty, which with little labour might be made fit to raise such seeds as is necessary for the sustenance of inhabitants, and in short a factory set up here, and another at Hancock's River, in the Queen Charlotte Isles, wou'd engross the whole trade of the NW. Coast (with the help [of] a few small coasting vessells).

20. This day left Columbia's River, and stood clear of the bars, and bore off to the Northward. The Men, at Columbia's River, are strait limb'd, fine looking fellows, and the Women are very pretty. They are all in a state of Nature, except the females, who wear a leaf Apron — (perhaps *'t was* a fig leaf. But some of our gentlemen, that examin'd them pretty close, and near, both within and without reported, that it was not a leaf, but a nice wove mat in resemblance!! and so we go — thus, thus — and no War! — !

21. N. Latt. 47° 55′. Abreast the Village *Goliu*, hove to and purchas'd some Skins from the Natives, then bore off to the North and West.

22. N. Latt. 48° 20′; W. Long. 124° 32′. Saw Tatooch's Isle and Cape Flattery, on the S. and E. entrance of Juan De Fuca straits (bound to the North'd) for to meet the Sloop *Adventure*.

23. N. Latt. 49° 9′; W. Long. 126° 0′ ☾ ✶ ☾. Pass'd Clioquot harbour, fine fresh gales, at SE.

24. N. Latt. 50° 10′; W. Long. 128° 10′. Pass'd Woody point,

[1] The words "and take possession" were inserted at a later time and are in quite a different ink.

at 2 miles distant. Several canoes put off from Columbia's Cove, but we did not stop.

At anchor in St. Patrick harbour.

25. N. Latt. 50° 30′; W. Long. 128° 30′. This day the Ship being abreast a fine inlet, dispatch'd Mr. Smith, in the Cutter to examine it. Soon after the Boat had a signal for a harbour. Haul'd our wind and stood in shore and anchor'd 15 fm. mud and sand, in a complete Snug Cove. Many canoes came along side, full of *Indians*. They was all dress'd in War *Armour*, and completely arm'd with Bows, arrows and Spears, and had altogether quite a savage appearance. I believe they was fearful we shou'd rob their village, which was at no great distance as they appear'd much agitated. However soon began a brisk trade for Otter furs. We landed, with the boats, and got Wood and Broom Stuff, but the Indians wishing to be troublesome, soon give over this business — indeed I was oblidged to knock one of them down with my Musket.

At anchor in Columbia's Cove.

28. N. Latt. 50° 30′; W. Long. 128° 30′ ☌ ☾. Weigh'd and came to sail, and left this harbour, which we named *St. Patrick's*. The *Indians* were much the same as the Nootka tribes. Standing towards Woody point, which was in sight. Towards evening, anchor'd in Columbia's Cove, in our former berth, past many natives along side, and seem'd much pleas'd at our visiting them again.

29. N. Latt. 50° 6′; W. Long. 128° 12′. Vast concourse of Indians off, among whom was *Necklar* chief of the sound. They brought many more furs than they did the last season we visited them. Found these Natives so chearful and oblidging, that we did not apprehend any danger in sending parties on shore after Wood and Water. However, they soon discover'd our Crew was diminish'd, and was very inquisitive for to know what had become of the rest of us. We thought prudent for to tell them that they was asleep below. I mistrust that the Indians did not believe us, but probably supposed our Shipmates had been kill'd. At 10 in the evening, a number of large canoes full of People, came into the Cove. They halted near some rocks about Pistol shot from the Ship, and there waited about ten minutes, during which time all hands was brought to arms, upon deck in readiness to receive them. Soon after a large War Canoe, with above *25 Indians*, paddled off for the Ship. We hail'd them, but they still persisted, and other canoes was seen following, upon which Capt. Gray order'd us to fire, which we did so effectually as to kill or wound every soul in the canoe. She

drifted along side, but we push'd her clear, and she drove to the North side of the Cove, under the shade of the trees. 'T was bright moon light and the woods *echoed* with the dying groans of these unfortunate Savages. We observ'd many canoes passing and repassing the Cove, at a small distance, in all probability they was after the poor dead Indians. They soon after ceas'd groaning, and we neither see nor heard any thing of them after.

We always found these Natives very friendly but they soon discover'd how thin the Ship's Company was now to what it was when we visited them before, and I believe it is impossible to keep friends with savages any longer than they stand in fear of you. But I cannot think they had any intention of boarding the Ship but were after a small anchor, which they in the course of the day see plac'd on some rocks (above water) for to steady the Ship, and when taken off at dusk they had left the Ship. But still they was daring fellows, to think they cou'd steal the *anchor* of a moon light night, within pistol shot of the Ship. Capt. Gray did not wish to fire upon them, for we cou'd easily have blown them to pieces, while they was holding a conference abreast the Rocks. They first stopt all by firing a *cannon* or two among them, and the reason we suffer'd them to approach so near before firing was that we were in hopes they wou'd miss the *Anchor* and then leave the Cove, and we wish'd much to keep friendly with these Indians, as this was the appointed *Rendezvous* for to meet the Sloop.

BOUND TO THE NORTHWARD.

30. This day unmoor'd and left Columbia's Cove, bound to the Northward, having left a Board *nail'd* to a tree, just back of the watering place, with the following *inscription* "Ship Columbia, arriv'd May 28th Saild May 30th. BEWARE," that in case Capt. Haswell shou'd arrive before us, he might be on his guard.

June 1. N. Latt. 50° 7′; W. Long. 128° 30′; Amp'd 21° 20′ E. Head wind at NW. and squally weather. Ships Crew all well and hearty.

4. N. Latt. 51° 0′; W. Long. 129° 1′. Some Canoes full of Indians came off from the Shore, abreast the Ship, and many valuable skins was *purchas'd*. Iron seem'd most in demand. These fellows soon grew saucy, and threw a number of *stones*, at our people, but as we did not wish, (if possible) to avoid it, for to shoot the poor mistaken savages, we bore off to the Northward, keeping in sounding from 30 to 20 fm., 2 miles off shore.

PINTARD'S STRAITS.

5. N. Latt. 51° 30′; W. Long. 129° 30′; Azi. 20° 30′ E. This day saw a large entrance in the land, between two points, above 4 leagues wide. We haul'd in for the same and when between the points had no bottom with 30 fm. We directed our [course?] about E½S and cou'd not see the Land to the East. The Ship went in exceeding fast with a strong tide in favour. Water was quite salt, which prov'd it not to be a River. Observ'd many high Rocks and small Isles, scatter'd about in this famous Straits. Kept the Lead going but got no bottom with 30 fm. line, and saw no signs of Indians. Towards dark stretch'd close in to the South Shore, for anchorage, but found none. Kept working under short sail all night, making short boards. No ground in any direction with 120 fm. line.

6. Azi. 20° 30′ E. Bore away up sound, in pursuit of anchorage and Natives. At length, after advancing 15 leagues up sound, we came to, within stone's throw of the beach, in 20 fm. water, sandy bottom, upon the South shore.

7. I went on shore abreast the Ship, with two *boats* after wood, took the Carpenter with me for to cut a Mizen topmast. We had not been long at work, in the Woods before above 200 *Indians*, of a sudden rush'd out upon us. The carpenter being some way from the rest of the party, got nearly surrounded, and was oblidg'd to fly, leaving his Broad Axe behind. I immediately rallied my people together, and retreated slowly, at the same time fir'd a few *Musketts* over their heads which kept them in check. At length they advanced so near as to throw their Spears. We then discharg'd our *Musketts* and killd several. However they still persisted, and I believe if we had not got to the beach (clear from the woods) that we shou'd have been overpow'd. They heard the reports of the *Musketts* on board, but never dreamt that we [were] attack'd by Indians, as none had been seen before. Immediately as we made our appearance the Ship cover'd us with the Cannon and the Grape and round Shot, must have done considerable damage to our pursuers, as they fell just into the brink of the wood, where the thickest of the Indians was. This soon dispers'd them, and we got all safe on board. Some of these fellows afterwards came down abreast the Ship and brandishd their Weapons at us, bidding defiance.

8. N. Latt. 51° 30′; W. Long. 129° 30′; or *thereabouts*. Got under way bound farther up the Straits and towards evening luff'd into a small bend of the land, and came to in 17 fathom close to the shore. A few canoes, with Indians came off, who talk'd the Nootka language. They inform'd that in two days, through the *woods*, they cou'd reach Nootka Sound and indeed, the Ship was at Anchor near

to a Mountain, which is plainly in view at Friendly Cove, (Nootka Sound).

9. Many canoes of this day, and plenty of fine Otter Skins was purchas'd. About Noon, 20 large War Canoes hove in sight, with above 30 Men in each, and we soon discern'd with our Glasses that they was all arm'd, with Spears and *Arrows*. The friendly Indians that was trading along side, told us these people had come to fight, and belong'd to the tribe we had fir'd at two days before, when attack'd upon the beach. Capt. Gray thought it not safe to admit them along side at once, and therefore order'd them, when within hail, for to keep off, and not but one canoe come along side at a time. They obey'd the command, and one canoe, with 42 men came alongside, but had only a skin or two. We soon discover'd that the main body of canoes was paddling towards us, singing a War Song. We fir'd a cannon and some Muskets over their heads. At this they mov'd off about 100 yds. and again halted. A Small Canoe, with a Chief, (paddled by two Indians) kept constantly plying between the Ship and the main body of the Canoes, counting our Men, and talking earnestly to the *Natives* along side, encouraging them to begin the attack. He was suffer'd to proceed in this manner some time, when Capt. Gray told him to come near the Ship no more, but he still persisted, and was shot dead for his temerity. Also the Chief Warrior, of the Canoe along side, was shot, for throwing his Spear into the Ship. They then made a precipitate retreat, and the trading Indians, who had kept at a small distance viewing the transactions, again recommenced their trade with us. They inform'd us these Indians, who meant to attack us, was of another tribe with them. Canoes with Indians, came along side and traded away their Otter Skins, but not without Manifest signs of fear.

12. The Natives kept bringing furs, which we purchas'd for Copper and Cloth. *Iron* very dull sale.

FROM PINTARD'S STRAITS TO COLUMBIA'S COVE.

13. Weigh'd and came to sail, standing down straits saw a number of fishing canoes, at a distance but none came near. Towards evening came to in 16 fm. at our former *anchorage*. See no Indians.

14. Fair wind and pleasant, weigh'd and stood down straits, and at 9 in the evening got clear out bound to Columbia's Cove, our place of Rendezvous. Shou'd these straits join with Juan da Fuca, which perhaps it does, it must make the whole Coast between the Latitudes of 48° 15′ and 51° 30′ North and Longitudes 124° 57′ and 129° 30′ W. a vast Archipalago of Islands. We named the port we had entred *Pintards*, after one of the owners, and I've no doubt

we are the first *discoverers*. It is certainly the most dangerous navigation we have experienced being full of Ledges, small Isles, no soundings and excessive strong tides. But I think it affords the most Sea Otter skins. We procured upwards of 300 hundred, during our stay, and saild up this straits more than 100 miles, and cou'd see no end. At our last anchorage, or rather the highest up the shore seem'd to trend about ESE.

15. N. Latt. 51° 17′; Amp'd 21° 14′ E. Head wind beating to and fro, making slow progress. The entrance of Pintards straits bore East, 3 or 4 leagues, 70 fm. water.

17. N. Latt. 50° 6′; W. Long. 128° 12′ ☉ ☾. Fresh breezes. This day spoke the Sloop *Adventure*, Capt. Haswell, sent our boat and Capt. Haswell came on board the Ship. Bore off the Cove. 'T is remarkable that we both meet within 12 leagues of our Rendezvous bound in. The chief of the Sloop's Cruize had been about the Charlotte Isles, and had collected about 500 *Skins*, all prime. On the 24th of April Capt. Haswell fell in with the Ship *Margaret* of Boston, James Magee Master. They was on the same business as ourselves. At 5 P. M. past Woody point, and at 7 anchored in company with the Sloop, in Columbia's Cove. A few Natives ventured along side, after much coaxing. (Found the Inscription at the watering place unmolested.) Took the Skins from *Sloop* on board ship. Sent parties on shore, well arm'd after wood and water. Purchas'd some furs.

20. Haul'd the Sloop on shore, and graved her. Capt. Haswell says she is an excellent sea boat, and sails very well. The Indians among whom he traded never offer'd insult.

21. Got the Sloop off the *ways*, and fitted her for another Cruize.

24. Weigh'd and sail'd from the Cove, in company with the *Adventure*, bound to Queen Charlotte Isles.

25. N. Latt. 50° 37′; W. Long. 129° 55′. Fair wind and moderate breezes. Sloop in company. The coast about 8 leagues distance.

28. N. Latt. 52° 18′; W. Long. 129° 15′. Fresh winds, all sail out running along shore, about 3 leagues distance, with smooth sea. Sloop about 2 miles a head. At 2 P. M. the Ship struck a Rock, which lay about 7 feet under water and did not break, hove all aback, and she came off clear, try'd the pump, and found she leak'd 1000 smart strokes per Hour, sounded along the Rock, and found no ground at 70 fm. Hoisted a signal for the Sloop, and she immediately haul'd her wind for us. Stood off, both pumps just keeps the leak under. In the morning bore off to the Northward.

29. N. Latt. 53° 1′; W. Long. 131° 41′. Came on a hard gale of wind, and although we kept firing Cannon through the night the

Sloop parted from us, as 't was very thick in the morning. The leaks rather increas'd, and our feelings was not the most agreeable on the occasion.

OFF QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLES (SOUTH PART).

30. N. Latt. 51° 57′; W. Long. 131° 10′. This day see the Queen Charlotte Isles, stood in pretty close to the South pt. and fother'd the Ship with a topsail which we had previously prepared for that purpose. This, fortunately for us, stop'd the leak one half.

July 1. N. Latt. 51° 48′. Close in off the South pt. of Queen Charlotte Isles from which lay many detach'd Rocks. We pass'd the pt. within two or three miles and left many breakers without us in the Offing. We wish to get into Barrells sound.

2. N. Latt. 51° 49′; W. Long. 130° 30′. Saw the entrance of Barrells sound, bearing NW., the wind direct in our teeth. Employ'd turning to windwards, with all the Elements against us. Crew all in brave health.

3. Employ'd beating to windward through the night, in the morning spoke the Ship *Margaret*, James Magee, Master. Capt. Gray went on board the *Margaret*, and found Capt. Magee very sick. This ship stopt a few days at the Cape De Verds, and made her passage in 6 months. They had not been very fortunate in trade. Bore away to the Southward, in company with Capt. Magee, bound to Columbia's Cove, for the purpose of examining the *Columbia's* bottom. Fair wind at NW.

AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S COVE.

5. N. Latt. 50° 6′; W. Long. 128° 0′. This day came to in Columbia's Cove in company with the *Margaret*. Several canoes came along side, and the Natives appear'd quite chearfull.

6. Hoisted all our Cannon, in the longboats of both Ships, made a raft of our spare spars on which we put every thing possible that wou'd not damage. Struck yards and topmasts. So ends.

7. Took up the Anchor, and hauld the Ship on shore, on a fine beach, at high tide. When the tide ebb'd, 't was discover'd that the Ship's keel was split, and the lower part of the Stem was entirely gone, within 2 inches of the Wood ends, a great deal of Sheathing was off, and three of the plank next to Garboard Streak was stove on the larboard side. The Carpenters went to work and put in new pieces of plank but it was found impracticable to pretend to repair the bows without heaving down, or some such method, and this cou'd not be done in our present situation. Nootka Sound,

where we knew there was a Spanish settlement, Capt. Gray tho't the most proper place, and we all concur'd in the opinion.

8. Hauld the Ship off, and soon got ready to leave the Cove.

BOUND TO NOOTKA SOUND.

10. N. Latt. 50° 6′; W. Long. 128° 0′. This day weigh'd, and again left the Cove, in company with the *Margarett*, standing towards *Nootka*, but overshot it in the Night, which is a misfortune.

11. N. Latt. 49° 9′; W. Long. 125° 26′. Abreast Clioquot harbour, and as it 's in vain to beat to Nootka with a strong breeze a head, we bore up, and towards evening, in company with the *Margaret*, anchor'd in Clioquot harbour. The Natives were at first shy, but we prevail'd on some of them to come on board.

12. Capt. Gray, having met with *Wickananish* on board the *Margaret*, prevail'd on him to visit the *Columbia*, but he did not appear happy. However 't was the means of getting more *Skins*, than we otherwise should have done. Employ'd wooding and watering (abreast the Ship) and under cover of her Guns.

15. This day arriv'd in the Harbour the English Brig *Venus*, Henry Sheppard Master, 6 months from Bengall in *India*. I went off to him in the offing, and piloted his Brig to the harbour. He inform'd us that at a small harbour in De Fuca straits, where he was at anchor a few days since, there was a Spanish settlement, where lay a Spanish 64, the master of which while amusing himself in shooting back in the woods, was kill'd by the Indians, in consequence of which the Spaniards seized a Canoe full of Natives and massacred them all (in *cold blood*) not even sparing Children. Shocking to relate!

17. Weigh'd with a fair wind, and left Clioquot bound to Nootka sound, to repair the Ship, under the protection of the Spaniards. Left the Ship and Brig behind. The wind soon came a head, and we began turning to windward, without making much progress. However we shall reach it by perseverance.

19. N. Latt. 49° 0′; W. Long. 125° 0′. Bad weather and the wind direct ahead. This day stood in and anchor'd in Clioquot harbour. Found the Ship made a poor hand beating to windward, without a Stem. Found the Brig *Venus* here, but Capt. Magee had sail'd. No canoes off.

20. Wind favourable, weather more settled. Weigh'd at Daylight, in company with the *Venus*, and stood to sea. Wind soon haul'd in its old quarter. Employ'd beating to windward towards Nootka Sound.

21. N. Latt. 49° 17′; W. Long. 126° 0′. Wind still at WNW.

and fair weather. Saw Breakers point NW. 4 leagues, making short hanks.

22. Weather'd away Breakers point and stood towards Nootka Sound. Observ'd the Spanish Colours flying at the Entrance of Friendly Cove, but the tide swept us so strong towards some breakers on the East shore, and the wind being light oblidg'd us to Anchor in 16 fm. rocky bottom. Hoisted our Ensign in a Wiff and fired a Gun for assistance which was answered by the *Spaniards*. Soon after see several Boats rowing towards us. Quite calm.

23. The Boats got alongside. They was sent by the Spanish Admirall to our assistance (except one, from an English *Store Ship*, under charge of Mr. *Neal*, the 1st Officer.) This *Ship* was sent out by the British Government, with Stores for Capt. *Vancoover*, who had not yet arriv'd at the Sound. The Spanish boats was under the charge of a Pilot, who had orders to Get the Ship to the Cove, and lend every assistance.

AT ANCHOR IN NOOTKA SOUND.

24. N. Latt. 49° 30′; W. Long. 126° 30′. Light breeze from the South'd and East'd. Weigh'd and came to sail, under conduct of the Spanish Pilot, who well knew his business, and was perfectly acquainted with the soundings and tides. Upon passing the Spanish fort, at the Entrance of the Cove, we saluted with 7 Guns, which was return'd. Towards evening came to, in Friendly Cove (Nootka sound). Found riding here the Store Ship, a Spanish Sloop of War, and the Brig *Venus*. The Spaniards treated us nobly, and offer'd freely every assistance in their power. We lay in this place till the 23d August. Shall give the *Minutes* of our transactions during that period.

25. N. Latt. 49° 30′; W. Long. 126° 30′. Discharg'd the Ship's Cargo and stores, and stored them in a house on shore which the Spaniards had lent us for that purpose. Strip'd the Ship to a Gutline, and got the riging all on shore to repair. The Spanish governor seem'd highly pleas'd with the dispatch that took place; indeed ev'ry man in the *Columbia* was anxious to get the Ship in readiness to pursue her Voyage, well knowing that the time drew nigh when we shou'd again be sailing towards our friends in America, and our sweet anticipation of the joys that await us there made us use ev'ry effort. This Spanish settlement at *Nootka*, contain'd about 50 Houses, indifferently built (*except* the Governor's, which was rather *grand* than otherways). There was about 200 Inhabitants, consisting of Spaniards and Peru Indians, but no females. Their fort was no great thing, mounted with 6 twenty four and thirty six

pounders — the platforms would not bear the weight of metal. There was two Botanists resided with the Governour. Capt. Gray took up his lodgings at the *governor's* request, at his house.

29. Don. Van Francisco De La Vondego, which was the name of the Governor, gave a grand entertainment, at his house, at which all the Officers of the Fleet partook. Fifty four persons sat down to Dinner, and the plates, which was *solid silver* was shifted five times, which made 270 Plates. The Dishes, Knifes and forks, and indeed every thing else was of Silver, and always replaced with spare ones. There cou'd be no mistake in this as they never carried the dirty plates or Dishes from the Hall where we dined, (as *I thought*, on purpose to let us see the quantity of plate used by Spaniards in South *America*.)

31. This day got all ready to heave down, by the Spanish Sloop of War, the Governor having granted us his permission.

August 1. Haul'd along side the Spanish Ship, fix'd our purchases to her, and soon had the *Columbia* keel out. But was oblidg'd to right her again, as she made too much water, her upper works being quite weak. Capt. Gray determin'd to give over the Idea of heaving her out, and accordingly gave orders to prepare to lay her ashore on *blocks*.

2. N. Latt. 49° 30′; W. Long. 126° 30′. This day haul'd the Ship upon the beach at high water, and placed a long round log *along* her keel fore and aft, endeavouring to trip her over it, but the Bottom being so *flat*, she wou'd turn keel out. Other logs was laid, and moor'd with *Cannon* on the Beach, with an intention of laying the Ship's *Fore foot* on them, which we accordingly did at high water, the logs laying as far aft as the fore *Chains*. This method answered our most sanguine *expectations*. At low water, or half ebb, the ship's bows lay'd four feet above the beach. In this situation we scuttled her Aft, so as to keep her steady in her berth, at high water. In three days, by the assistance of the Spanish and English Carpenters, a New Stem and part of the Cutwater was put to the Ship. Stopt the Scuttle, grav'd the Ship, and haul'd off to our Moorings.

8. The Spaniards view'd us, with astonishment, and the Governor observ'd that he believed we cou'd build a ship in a month.

9. The Brig *Hope*, Joseph Ingrahim, arriv'd here, on the 1st from Canton, and sail'd this day on a *Cruize*.

10. On the 10th arrived here the Ship *Buttersworth*, from London, Wm. Brown Commander; Ship *Margaret*, James Magee, and Brig *Hope*, Joseph Ingrahim.

11. And on the 11th arriv'd the Sloop *Prince La Boo*, Capt. Gordon from London. These vessells were all in the fur trade. The *Laboo* was a tender to the *Buttersworth*.

16. The Ship *Margaret* put to sea, under charge of Mr. Lamb, 1st Officer Capt. Magee residing with the Spanish governor for the benefit of his health.

22. This Day the *Columbia* was ready for sea, and in fine order. Have painted her complete.

23. Arriv'd the English brig *Three B's*, Leiutenant Alder, Commander, from London, on a trading Voyage.

Bound to Charlotte Isles.

24. Weigh'd and came to sail, bound for Queen Charlotte Isles, Barrells sound, those Isles being the appointed rendezvous, for to meet the *Adventure*, Capt. Haswell. It is but doing Justice to the Spaniards at Nootka sound to observe that during our tarry among them we was treated with the greatest hospitality, and in fact they seem'd to exert themselves, and to feel interested in our behalf. May such fine fellows Never be in want of the like assistance shou'd they ever stand in need of it from the hands of any American. The Governor wou'd Not allow Capt. Gray for to pay one farthing.

Bound to Nootka Sound.

25. N. Latt. 49° 30′; W. Long. 126° 30′. Nootka sound is as remarkable a place to know from seaward as any I know of. At most times Iatheo peak (a mountain) in the form of a sugar loaf can be seen, and there is none other that at all resembles it, on this part of the Coast. A long low point, with high Breakers off it, makes the SE. part of the Bay. The Western entrance of the sound runs down to a low point, with a small round Hill just back of Friendly cove.

28. N. Latt. 51° 45′; W. Long. 130° 30′. This day made the SE. part of the group of Charlotte Isles. A thick fog came on, so that we cou'd not reach the sound. Employ'd beating off and on, waiting for fair weather.

30. This day the weather clear'd and the Sloop *Adventure* hove in sight standing for Barcl. [Barrells?] sound. This is the second time we have met off the place of *Rendezvous*. Saluted each other with 7 Guns. Found Capt. Haswell and Crew all well, and had made a successful cruize. We stood into Port Mongommery, a small harbour to the North'd of Barrells Sound, which the *Adventure* had *visited* before, and her Captain named it after our famous American General who fell before Quebec while gloriously fighting in the defence of our liberties. *Graved* the Sloop in this place, and otherways put her in fine order, to attract the eyes of the *Spaniards* at Nootka, as Capt. Gray meant to sell her to *them* if possible. Cut

some spare spars at this place, and wooded and watered the Ship for her passage to Canton. Many Natives visited us, and brought plenty of fish but few furs. Took out the *Skins* from the Sloop and stow'd them away on board the Ship.

September 13. Weigh'd and stood to sea, in company with the *Adventure*, bound to Nootka sound.

21. N. Latt. 49° 30′; W. Long. 126° 30′. Abreast the Entrance of the Sound. A Spanish Brig in sight to leeward, which hove to and fir'd a Gun. We immediately bore off for her. She was the *Acteva* of 14 Guns, with the Spanish Governor of Nootka on board, bound to *Peru*. He told Capt. Gray that he wou'd wait 10 days at a small *Spanish* settlement, in Juan De Fuca straits, where he was then going, for to leave some orders, previous to his leaving the Coast. He appear'd anxious to have the Sloop, and Haswell was not backward in displaying her to the best advantage. Towards evening we anchor'd in Friendly Cove, having saluted the Spanish Governor with 13 Guns when we parted. Found riding in the Cove His Majesty's Ships *Discovery* and *Chatham*, The *Dedalus*, Store Ship, Capt. [Thomas] New, Ship *Margaret*, of Boston, Capt. Magee, English Brig *Fens*, Capt. Duffin, English Sloop *Jackhall*, Capt. Steward, and a Spanish Line of Battle Ship of 74 Guns. Spanish Colours still flying at the fort, the Governor having refused to give up the Sound to Capt. Vancoover who was authoriz'd by his Government for to take possession of it. However the Spaniards told *Vancoover* that he might have that particular place where Capt. [John] *Mears* made his small settlement, and built a Sloop, which was very inconsiderable. Capt. Vancoover insisted upon having the whole or none. However they both agreed to let the business remain (in statu quo), to remain friends, and write home to their respective Courts, on the subject of dispute.

Juan de Fuca Straits.

22. Weigh'd in company with the Sloop, and left Nootka bound to Port Ne-ar in Juan de Fuca straits. Fair wind and pleasant weather.

23. N. Latt. 49° 9′; W. Long. 125° 26′ ☉ ☾. Close in with Clioquot harbour. In the morning saw two Sail in the NW. At Meridian Tatooch's Isle on the SE. entrance of the Straits bore E½S. 8 or 9 leagues.

24. N. Latt. 48° 30′; W. Latt. 123° 45′. Spoke the Spanish Brig *Acteva*, with the Governor on board. They was much suppriz'd at our being in the Straits as soon as they was. At dark the Spanish Brig hove to under her tops'ls. We kept plying all night

for our Port, and in the Morning got safe to anchor in C'o with the Sloop *Adventure*. Found riding here the Spanish Ship *Princessa* of 64 Guns, and Brig *Hope*, Capt. Ingrahim. This was a small, good harbour, situate about 5 leagues from Cape Flattery, within the straits of De Fuca. The Spaniards had erected a Cross upon the beach, and had about 10 Houses and several good Gardens. Several Natives along side, and a few prime Skins was purchas'd, (*with plenty of fine Halibut*). I went with the Pinnace to the Assistance of the *Acteva*, she having been oblidg'd to anchor near Cape Flattery, in a dangerous situation. When I came on board, instead of using every effort to get clear of the threatning Danger, they was performing Mass. However soon got under way and stood for Port Ne-ar.

25. N. Latt. 48° 35′; W. Long. 123° 30′. The *Acteva* anchor'd in company. Saluted the Governor with 13 Guns, which was return'd. Employ'd filling up our Water, and getting ready for our passage across the Pacific Ocean.

26. Spanish Officers from both ships, together with Capt. Ingraham, dined on board the *Columbia*. Fired, on their coming, and going away, two Foederall salutes.

27. Saild the *Princessa* for Nootka sound. Ships crew are all in prime health. Natives constantly visit us, but they do not like the Spaniards.

28. This day sold the Sloop *Adventure* to the Spanish Governor, for 72 Prime Sea Otter Skins, worth 55 Dollars each in Canton, which is equal to 4960$., which at 50 per Ct. advance home, is 7440 Spanish Piasters, a good price. He wanted her as a present to the Viceroy of *Mexico*. Before delivery we took out all her provisions and stores, with a New Cable and Anchor.

29. Saild this day the Brig *Acteva* and Sloop *Adventure*, under Spanish Colours, bound to Acapulco. We saluted on their departure with 9 Guns which was return'd.

30. Weigh'd and saild from Port Néar, bound across the Straits for a Cove, call'd by us *Poverty*. Same evening anchor'd, in 7 fathom. Found this harbour much snuger for our business. The Indians brought a few Skins and plenty of fish and some train oil, which last article we much wanted.

October 1. Employ'd wooding and watering and getting the Ship in order. Cut many spare spars.

3. Weigh'd for the last time on the NW Coast, and left Poverty Cove, bound for Canton in China, via Sandwich Islands. Our feelings on this occasion are easier *felt* than described. Our friends at Home and ev'ry endearing *Idea* rush'd so full upon us, and made us so happy, that 't was impossible, for a while, to get the Ship in

readiness for bad weather, and full allowance of Grog being serv'd on the occasion, made our worthy Tars join in the *general* Mirth — and so we go.

N. Latt. 48° 25′; W. Long. 123° 30′. At noon Cape Flattery bore East 7 leagues. Steering SW. Wind NE. Soon lost sight of the Mountains of North America.

9. N. Latt. 44° 51′; W. Long. 128° 34′; Amp'd 14° 37′ E.

11. N. Latt. 43° 7′; W. Long. 129° 5′; Amp'd 13° 17′ E. ☉ ☾. Pleasant weather. Wind at West. Ship's Crew in health.

16. N. Latt. 34° 7′; W. Long. 138° 6′; Azi. 10° 58′ E. Pleasant gales and fair weather.

17. N. Latt. 32° 54′; W. Long. 138° 42′; Azi. 11° 46′ E. Pleasant gales and fair weather.

21. N. Latt. 28° 10′; W. Long. 142° 24′; Azi. 10° 0′ E. Crew all in health, and wind and weather propitious. Took NE trade winds this day.

26. N. Latt. 20° 15′; W. Long. 150° 39′; Azi. 6° 7′; Amp'd 6° 38′ E. Warm and pleasant, with a smooth sea.

28. N. Latt. 20° 5′; W. Long. 154° 52′ ✶ ☾. Spoke the Brig *Fens*, Capt. Duffan, bound to Canton. The first lieutenant[1] of the *Discovery*, Capt. Vancoover, was a passenger on board this Vessell, bound home, with dispatches for Government.

Sandwich Isles. Pacific Ocean.

29. N. Latt. 20° 14′; W. Long. 154° 20′. Made the Isle of Owhyhee,[2] one of the Sandwich Isles, where the famous Circumnavigator, Capt. James Cook was killed by the Natives. Standing towards the Isles, it having been seen at 15 leagues distant.

30. Hove to, for some Canoes, and purchased 11 Hogs, from the Natives, and plenty of vegetables, such as Sweet Potatoes, Yams, tarro etc. These Canoes was very neatly made, but quite narrow. The Outrigger kept them steady, or else, I think, they wou'd too easily upset in the Sea. The Men were fine stately looking fellows, and the Women quite handsome. They were all in a state of Nature, except a small covering round the middle. Not many of the *Columbia's* Crew prov'd to be *Josepths*. Run along very near the Isles, and hove to off Karakakoa Bay. Some double Canoes came alongside. These was suspended apart by large rafters, well supported. The Masts were rig'd between the canoes, and they carried their mat sails a long time, sailing very fast. The Shore was lined with people.

31. N. Latt. 20° 14′; W. Long. 154° 50′. Stood round the

[1] Lieutenant Mudge?

[2] Hawaii.

Island and haul'd into Toaj yah yah bay,[1] and hove to. Vast *many* canoes sailing in company with us. The shore made a delightful appearance, and appeared in the highest state of cultivation. Many canoes along side, containing beautiful *Women*. Plenty of Hogs and fowls, together with most of the Tropical fruits in abundance; great quantities of Water, and Musk, *Mellons*, Sugar Cane, Bread fruit, and salt was brought for sale. The price of a large Hog was from 5 to 10 spikes — smaller ones in proportion. 6 Dunghill fowls for an Iron Chizzle, and fruit cheaper still.

November 1. This day, having on board 93 Hogs and great quantities of Fruits and Vegetables, we bore away from this enchanting Island bound to *Onehow*,[2] after more Yams and to put a Native on shore, which the Captain had taken from that Isle on his former voyage. Pass'd the Isles of Tahousa,[3] Rainai,[4] *Mower*,[5] and Whahow,[6] left them to the North'd of us.

2. N. Latt. 21° 59′; W. Long. 160° 0′. Pass'd Atooi, and steer'd for Yam bay in Onehow. In the morning was well into the bay. Vast many canoes off, in one of which was the Father and other relations of our Sandwich Island Lad. They came on board and the meeting was very affectionate, but still our Lad refused to go on shore and Capt. Gray did not think proper for to force him. However made his friends many presents. Purchas'd some Hogs here, and great quantitys of Cocoa Nuts, with a good lot of Nice line for Rising etc.

3. Bore off and made all sail for the Coast of China, and soon lost sight of these beautiful Isles, the Inhabitants of which appear'd to me to be the happiest people in the world. Indeed there was something in them so frank and chearful that you cou'd not help feeling prepossesd in their favour.

4. N. Latt. 19° 56′; W. Long. 163° 58′. Pleasant NE. trade winds, with smooth sea. Crew all in health. Kill'd and salted 17 large Hogs. We followed Capt. Cook's plan, by taking out the Bones, and laying the Meat, (after salting), between two Hatches, with a heavy Weight on them, through the Night and in the morning early, after a good examination, pack'd it away in Barrells, using strong pickle. This method answerd ev'ry purpose.

13. N. Latt. 15° 49′; W. Long. 185° 25′; E. Long. 174° 35′; Amp'd 13° 23′ E. Keep the people employ'd cleaning furs.

24. N. Latt. 15° 50′; W. Long. 212° 29′; E. Long. 147° 31′; Azi. 9° 56′ E. This is pleasant sailing, have not experienced a squall since leaving the Islands, and the sea quite smooth, although a fresh NE. trade. Crew all well.

[1] Kawaihae Bay?
[2] Niihau.
[3] Kahoolawe?
[4] Lanai?
[5] Maui.
[6] Oahu.

29. N. Latt. 18° 24′; W. Long. 226° 15′; E. Long. 133° 45′; Azi. and Amp'd 7° 12′ E. Sea grows more rough, and the weather a little squally.

BASHEE ISLES AND COAST OF CHINA. PACIFIC OCEAN.

December 3. N. Latt. 20° 30′; W. Long. 232° 28′; E. Long. 127° 32′ ☉ ☾. This day, contrary to our expectation, we made the Bashee Isles, at 10 leagues distance to the Westward. Have experienced strong Currents in our favour, since leaving the Sandwich Isles. As we cou'd not weather, with the wind at NE., 't was thought best to run between Grafton and Monmouth Isles, bore off accordingly.

4. Fresh breeze. At 6 P. M. we were between the Islands, doubled pretty near Grafton, and luff'd close under the lea'd of Orange Isle. Saw a number of fires on the shore, but it was too dark to make any observations. When clear of the group hauld close on a wind for the Coast of China.

5. N. Latt. 21° 48′; Correct W. Long. 239° 29′; Correct E. Long. 120° 31′; Azi. and Amp'd 2° 41′ W. 16 ☉ ☉ ✶ ☾ ☾. ☾ Sights. Saw the Island of Formosa, bearing EBN. at Meridian, 12 leagues. Fair NE. Monsoon.

6. N. Latt. 22° 20′; W. Long. 243° 38′; E. Long. 116° 22′. Saw the Main land of China, bearing NW. 8 leagues, at Meridian above 100 sail of fishing boats in sight. Soundings 23 fathom sand and ouze.

7. N. Latt. 22° 7′; W. Long. 244° 57′; E. Long. 115° 3′. Pass'd the Island, or rather Rock of Pedro Branca, (or *Blanco*),[1] at Daylight. It was of a conical shape and appear'd perfectly white. At Noon, the Grand Lema Island bore WSW., 5 leagues. Hundreds of fishing boats in sight. At 3 P. M. pass'd the *Lema*, leaving it on our larboard hand. At 6 got a Pilot on board, who agreed to carry us to Macao roads, for 25 Dollars. Stood between the Lema Islands all night, with a light breeze.

MACAO ROADS. COAST OF CHINA.

8. This morning early anchor'd in Macao roads, 14 fm. muddy bottom. Not liking our situation weigh'd and shifted our berth nigher to Macao, and anchor'd in 4½ fm. Mud. The Fort at Macao bearing S 8° 8′ W. 4 miles, and the outermost of the Nine Isles N 8° E. Capt. Gray went to *Macao*, in the pinnace. A Black fellow came on board and inform'd us that Capt. Kendrick, in the *Lady*

[1] Pedra Branca.

Washington, lay in Lack's Bay, and that the Brig had been dismasted in the Chinese seas about two months before, in a *Tuffoon*, being again bound for the NW. Coast. Kendrick was refitting his vessell again.

9. Capt. Gray return'd on board, he inform'd us that Capt. Kendrick saild for the NW. in September last, in company with a small tender he had fitted in Macao. He was out four days when the Tuffoon overtook him. The Brig laid on her Beam ends for some time before they cut away the Masts. She then righted, and the gale abating steer'd for *Macao*. The whole surface of the sea was cover'd with the Wrecks of Chinese *Boats*, and many of the poor fishermen was still hanging to pieces of the Boats. Capt. Kendrick pick'd up above thirty of the poor fellows, and was obligd to pass a great many that he cou'd not assist. He arriv'd in Lacks Bay, the 7th day after the Gale. A Macao Boat came along side, with two European gentlemen, and purchas'd of us 21 pistale of Iron at 7$ per pistal. A River pilot took charge for 40$ to take the Ship to Whampoa.

10. Weigh'd, with the wind at NE. early in the morning making slow progress; in the evening anchor'd below Lintin bar, in 5 fathom. Next morning weigh'd and beat up to the Boca Tigris, and anchor'd in 17 fm.

CANTON RIVER, CHINA.

12. This day arriv'd to our Moorings at Whampoa, having been oblidged to beat the whole way from Macao roads. Found riding here 47 sail of European Ships, and 6 American Do. Capt. Gray went to Canton, in the pinnace. We lay'd at this place till the 2d of February, during which time we give the Ship a complete overhaul from her keel to the truck. We haul'd the Ship a shore, on Dutch Island beach, and *graved*. This business cost 150$ (paid to the Proprietors of the beach). The whole expence accruing to the *Columbia* at Canton amounted to the enormous sum of 7000 Spanish $. The other Furs were landed at Canton, and delivered to the Hong Merchants, for 90,000$, average 45 Dollars each. The Land furs sold quite low, in proportion.

The Ship was laden with a full Cargo of Teas and Nanken with a small proportion of Sugar and China Porcelain. 'T is the Custom in this place to engage with a Contractor to supply the Ship with provisions and other stores. They call themselves *Compadores*. You must give them a certain Sum, generally 150$ before they'll undertake. The first of these fellows that was engag'd run away with 250$ in our debt. This Money was advanced him previous to our having a Security Merchant; otherways it wou'd have been

recover'd. These security Merchants ev'ry ship must have before they can transact business, as the government looks to *them* for the Amount of Duties. Capt. Gray generally staid at Canton and the Officers by *turns*, and ev'ry man on board had two Days liberty allowed him.

We had a building, made of Bamboo and Cover'd with Matts, nearly abreast the Ship on the Banks of the River. This was found by the Compadore and answer'd very well for to put the Ship's stores in while careening and loading. An Officer and gang of hands was station'd at this place, as a guard. There was two large boats station'd along side the Ship, with Customs house officers on board, the whole time we lay'd in the river. A family resided in each boat (they being completely shelter'd). The Manderine had an apartment by himself.

1793, *January* 1. Rec'd a letter from Capt. Kendrick, who inform'd us of the death of Messrs. Wood and Stodderd, two young men of Boston. I believe they liv'd too fast for the climate.

When we arriv'd at Whampoa there was upwards of a dozen fine Hogs on deck, which we had reserv'd for the Passage home. The *Rasscles* of the Chinese found means to throw them some poisinous stuff, which kill'd the whole of them. But we took notice as soon as they was thrown *overboard* they was eagerly seiz'd, and no doubt was feasted upon by the poor of the *River;* indeed nothing escap'd their clutches — the Entrails of Poultry, or Dead Rats serv'd equally alike to appease these half starv'd wretches that constantly surrounds the shipping. However I always remark'd that they was very nice in their Cookery, and Rice was always a part of ev'ry Mess. No Indians we had ever visited during the Voyage was more complete in the Art of thieving than the Chinese of the lower order, on this River. And in fact they appear'd to me to be the greatest Villains in the *Universe.* (These remarks are only as respects the common people.) The Chinese Gentleman is of a very different *character*, and indeed I was highly pleas'd with the polite attention shewn to strangers at Canton, by the Mandarines and Merchants at that place; indeed among themselves they appear to stand upon the nicest *Etiquette.* The Chinese *merchant* is very particular in his business, and very nice in his calculations, and no part of his affairs appear to be unnotic'd by him. In making a bargain they are very *shrewd;* when closed they are *faithful* as to quantity, but for quality you must be constantly on your guard or else 't is certain the Goods will not turn out as expected, and the only satisfaction you will get from them is that you ought to have looked sharper, and at the same [time] will try to console you by this remark, that on another Voyage you will be better acquainted with the mode of

doing business at Canton. Upon the whole, the Candour that is about the Chinese merchant makes some amends for the general complaint against them, that they *will* cheat you, if they can — therefore your business is to see that *they shall not.*

'T is surprizing to observe the business that is going on in the Suburbs of Canton; the streets are generally thronged with people, all busily engag'd in their several avocations; the Shops well stock'd with Goods, and appear to meet with encouragement. Few *Women* are to be seen. *These* (if Chinese) have the small crippled feet, the Ancle looking like an Horse's hoof. If *Tarter*, the feet is of the natural growth. So much has been said about Canton, and the Manners and Customs of the Chinese, that 't is needless for me to make any further remarks on the subject.

FROM CANTON TOWARDS THE STRAITS OF BANCA.

February 2. This day the Pilot came on board and took charge. Unmoor'd and stood down the River. Left but 7 Ships behind, all English and *Swedes.*

4. Anchor'd this day below the Bars. Wind generally in our teeth, work along with the tides.

6. Anchor'd just above the Boca *Tigris;* in the Night the Chinese rasscles cut the cable, although we kept a good watch. Let go another, and brought up. In the morning, the Buoy being taken away, cou'd not recover the Anchor. Therefore left it with 9 fm. Cable.

7. Pass'd the Boca Tigris, and stood for Macao roads.

8. Ran through *Macao Roads*, and stood to sea. The Pilot left us. Took a departure from the Macao Fort, it lying in Latitude 22° 13′ North, and Longitude 113° 52′ East of London. Some Chinese junks in company. Find the Ship *requires* one Pump pretty steady to keep her free. However as it has been a steady leak for some time it is not look'd upon as a serious affair. The Wind prevails from the Eastern board, and is very squally.

The Ship's Crew are all well and hearty, and looking forward, with anxious solicitude, to a happy meeting of *Sweethearts* and *Wives.* How can we be otherways than happy, when anticipating the joys that *awaits* us there!!

9. N. Lat. 19° 57′; W. Long. 246° 39′; E. Long. 113° 21′; Azi. 1° 43′ W. Wind at SE. Pleasant weather. Two Chinese Junks in company.

10. N. Lat. 19° 35′; W. Long. 245° 44′; E. Long. 114° 16′; Amp'd 0° 43′ W. Wind SSW. Junks in company. Very pleasant, light airs.

12. N. Lat. 17° 31′; W. Long. 246° 35′; E. Long. 113° 25′. Azi. 0° 48′ W. Wind SE. and pleasant weather. See Boobies often.

14. N. Lat. 15° 2′; W. Long. 246° 14′; E. Long. 113° 46′. Took the wind at NE., which I suppose is the *Monsoon.*

18. N. Lat. 9° 44′; W. Long. 250° 48′; E. Long. 109° 12′. At Midnight saw a small Isle bearing SWBS. 1 league, and soon after see Pulo Sapata, bearing SBE. 2 leagues to the North'd. At 6 A. M. bore off and made sail. Wind ENE. Cou'd not weather *Pulo Sapata.* Pass'd two miles to the Westward of it. When the Isle bore East, a large White Rock or Isle bore NNW., 6 or 7 leagues distant. At 9 was clear of Sapata, and see no dangers in the track we pursued, although I believe 't was quite an unfrequented one. This Sapata Isle is very properly named, as it has every appearance of a Shoe — after which it is *called* in Malay. Bore off to the west'd with an intention of striking soundings off Pulo *Condore.* Pulo Sapata, Latitude is 10° 4′, and 109° 10′ E.

19. N. Lat. 8° 4′; W. Long. 252° 4′; E. Long. 107° 56′. Regular NE. Monsoon. Soundings at Noon 26 fathom, fine sand.

20. N. Lat. 6° 9′; W. Long. 252° 46′; E. Long. 107° 14′. Soundings at Noon, 32 fm., fine sand.

21. N. Lat. 4° 28′; W. Long. 253° 23′; E. Long. 106° 37′; Azi. 1° 18′ E. Soundings at Noon 45 fm., steady Monsoon.

22. N. Lat. 3° 0′; W. Long. 255° 5′; E. Long. 104° 55′. The Islands of Pulo Timon, Aore, and Tissang [1] in sight to the Southward. At Noon Pulo Aore bore SBW½ 10 leagues. Soundings 35 fathom.

23. N. Lat. 0° 56′; W. Long. 254° 20′; E. Long. 105° 40′. Soundings at Noon 35 fm., Sand and Mud.

24. S. Lat. 0° 44′; W. Long. 254° 46′; E. Long. 105° 14′. This day saw Pulo Taya to the westward. At Noon Pulo Taya [2] bore WNW. 6 leagues, the Seven Islands, SBE. Experience a current to the Southward this 24 hours, the Monsoon moderate.

25. S. Lat. 1° 43′; W. Long. 255° 9′; E. Long. 104° 51′. Pass'd between Taya and the Seven Isles, distance from Seven Isles about 4 leagues. More Islands hove in sight to the SE. At Sunset saw land, which we took for Monopin Hill. Laid off and on through the Night under short sail. Soundings from 8 to 16 fathom. At daylight Monopin Hill bore SBE, 7 leagues. Bore off. At Meridian Monopin Hill bore E½N and the Sumatra shore WSW., the ship nearest the Banca Shore, strong currents to the Southward. Soundings 18 fathom.

[1] Tioman, Aor and Pemangil or Tingy?

[2] Saya.

STRAITS OF BANCA.

26. S. Lat. 2° 43′. Enter'd the Straits of Banca, and stood to the SE. At 5 P. M. Monopin Hill bearing NNW, the Ship being ½ nearest to the Banca shore from Sumatra on. We shoal'd the water very sudden from 10 to 3 fathoms, rocks, bore off to the South and West, and soon deep'd it again. This must have been on the Fredrick Hendrik Shoal.

In the evening came to on the Sumatra shore, 9 fm. Mud, strong tides. 3d point bore EBS 2 leagues.

At daylight got under way, and stood down straits. At 10 abreast the *Vanka Isles*, a number of Malay proas in sight. At 11 A. M. a dangerous shoal bore West 1 league, high breakers. At Noon *observ'd* as above. 1st pt. bore SBE 4 leagues.

27. S. Lat. 4° 21′; W. Long. 253° 43′; E. Long. 106° 17′ ☉ ☾. Winds from NW. and pleasant. At 2 P. M. pass'd a *Moorish* Sloop, *at anchor*. She was strongly man'd and arm'd. I believe she was a *Pirate*. Many Proas about. At Sunset the Isle of Lucepara bore SEBE 3 leagues, and 1st point on Sumatra, SWBS. Pass'd nearest to the Sumatra Shore, the shoalest water 4½ fm. and when through deep'd it to 12 and 14 fm. A strong tide in favour. At Noon *observ'd* as above.

28. S. Lat. 4° 39′; W. Long. 253° 50′; E. Long. 106° 10′ ✶ ☾. Depth of Water, from 10 to 14 fm. throughout these 24 hours. Wind from the West'd, and very dark weather. Bound towards the Straits of *Sunda*.

March 1. S. Lat. 5° 9′. At sunset see the Two Sister[1] Isles to the Southward, wind to the SW. and very light. Soundings from 12 to 14 fm. At dark came to off the *Sumatra* shore, at 2½ leagues distant, 9½ fm. Mud. In the morning got under way. At Noon observ'd Lat. as above, the Sisters bearing SSE. 2 miles.

2. S. Lat. 5° 25′. Wind at West. Soundings throughout this 24 hours from 12 to 15 fm. Found these Isles of Sisters to be surround'd with Dangerous Reefs. In the evening came to in 12 fm. Muddy bottom. Hogs point on Sumatra in sight bearing South 11 leagues, and North Island SWBS ½W. In the morning weigh'd and stood towards North Isle. At Noon observ'd as above.

AT NORTH ISLE AND STRAITS OF SUNDA.

3. Winds moderate and cloudy, working towards *North Isles* Roads. At sunset came to in the Roads, 15 fm. muddy bottom. Pass'd several Turtle and Water Snakes between the Sisters and

[1] Two Brothers?

our anchorage. The two ships shew English Colours. In the morning early shifted our berth nearer the watering place, and at 7 A. M. anchor'd in 15 fm. Hoisted out *all* the *Boats*, and dispatch'd them for water. The ships that lay in the Road was an English 64, Capt. Gore,[1] and the *Indostan* India Company Ship, Capt. *Mackintosh*. The *Lion* had on board Mr. Macartney,[2] a Minister from the British Government to the Court of Pekin. We took Dispatches for them to leave at St. *Helena*. Towards evening these ships sail'd for Batavia. Two Dutch Guard of Coasters anchor'd in company with us. By night we had fill'd up all our water and purchas'd a good quantity of Poultry and Fruit of the Malays at the Beach. I landed, with the charge of our boats, found above 200 Malays round the watering place. They was completely arm'd, with *Creases*, (or *Daggers*), but was quite *friendly*. However I did not allow the Boats to touch the beach and only let 6 men beside myself land, and swam the water casks off to the boats, *when fill'd*. This method I thought but prudent, as the *Malays* had kill'd one of the *Lion's* crew, while washing cloaths at the brook. I cannot say that I experienced the most agreeable sensations while on this duty.

4. Employ'd variously. Got a good quantity of Wood from North Isle. The watering place being on Sumatra, we see no Natives on North Isle.

5. Weigh'd and sail'd from North Island Roads, bound through Sunda straits, pass'd the Qepthan Isles and Stroon Rock, upon which was high breakers. Pass'd it on the larboard hand. At Meridian Crackatoa Isle bore SSW. 4 miles, sounding 20 fm. St. Tamanies Isle NNE. Wind SSW.

6. S. Lat. 6° 2′. Wind from SW. to NW. and very squally weather, with heavy rain. Turning to windward between Princes Island and Crokatore and in the Night came very near depositing the Ship upon the Qu Klip rocks. However good luck prevail'd. Crew all in health.

7. S. Lat. 6° 39′. At Meridian Princes Isle bore East and Java Head ESE. 5 leagues. Wind from NW. Stood to the southward.

8. S. Lat. 7° 13′; W. Long. 255° 36′; E. Long. 104° 24′. Steady NW. Monsoon and pleasant.

9. S. Lat. 8° 4′; W. Long. 255° 47′; E. Long. 104° 13′; Amp'd 1° 24′ East. Wind WSW. and squally weather.

13. S. Lat. 10° 47′; W. Long. 257° 40′; E. Long. 102° 20′ ☉ ☾. This day took the SE. trade winds after having experienced the NW. Monsoon quite variable from SSW. to NNW., and weather much unsettled, with plenty of rain and a continual swell from the Southward. Many *Boobies* about us.

[1] Erasmus Gower. [2] George Macartney, Earl Macartney (1737–1806).

20. S. Lat. 15° 32′; W. Long. 270° 16′; E. Long. 89° 44′; Azi. 1° 54′ E. This is an uncommon Variation for the place. Have had fine weather since taking the SE. *Trades.*

27. S. Lat. 17° 1′; W. Long. 280° 57′; E. Long. 79° 3′. Have had the wind from the west'd these three days past, with squally weather. This day it drew to the SE. again. Caught several Dolphin.

30. S. Lat. 16° 32′; W. Long. 286° 5′; E. Long. 73° 55′; Azi. 4° 38′ W. Pleasant SE Trade winds.

April 1. S. Lat. 16° 55′; W. Long. 289° 25′; E. Long. 70° 35′; Azi. 7° 36′ W. Have experienced a little Thunder and Lightning, for several days at intervals.

3. S. Lat. 18° 52′; W. Long. 295° 0′; E. Long. 65° 0′; Azi. 14° 0′ W. Fresh trades and Hazy weather.

SAW THE ISLE OF RODERIGUE AND MAURITIUS. SOUTHERN OCEAN.

4. S. Lat. 19° 37′; W. Long. *Corrected* 297° 10′; E. Long. 62° 50′ ☉ ☾. This day made the *Isle* of *Roderigue* bearing SW. The Ship having experienced a current to the West'd since leaving the Straits of Sunda. Found this Island to be surround'd with dangerous Reefs — the one on its NW. extends many miles into the Sea.

5. S. Lat. 19° 44′; W. Long. 299° 11′; E. Long. 60° 49′; Azi. 10° 4′ W. Amp'd 9° 58′ W. Wind from the south'd and pleasant.

7. S. Lat. 20° 36′; W. Long. 302° 19′; E. Long. 57° 41′. Saw the Isle of France at daylight. At noon the South pt. of Mauritius bore WNW, 8 leagues, very high uneven land.

8. S. Lat. 21° 36′; W. Long. 303° 38′; E. Long. 56° 22′. Pleasant trade winds. Saw the Isle of *Bourbon.* At noon it bore NW. 10 or 12 leagues. Exceeding mountainous.

10. S. Lat. 24° 4′; W. Long. 307° 55′; E. Long. 52° 5′; Azi. 18° 51′ W. Fresh SE. trades and squally. Crew all well.

14. S. Lat. 28° 2′; W. Long. 315° 59′; E. Long. 44° 1′. Azi. 22° 25′ W. ☉ ☾ ☌ ✳. Wind still at SE. and pleasant weather.

17. S. Lat. 30° 41′; W. Long. 323° 44′; E. Long. 36° 16′ ☉ ☾. This day the SE. trades left us, and immediately took the wind from NW.

19. S. Lat. 29° 32′; W. Long. 325° 49′; E. Long. 34° 11′; Azi. and Amp'd 23° 50′ W. ☉ ☾ ☌ ✳ 16 ☌ ☾ Sights. Wind at SW. and pleasant cool weather. Current setting to the NE.

21. S. Lat. 29° 37′; W. Long. 326° 48′; E. Long. 33° 12′; Azi. 25° 30′ W. Wind from west, and pleasant.

23. S. Lat. 31° 11′; W. Long. 328° 20′; E. Long. 31° 40′; Azi. and

Amp'd 27° 56′ W. Wind from the Eastward. Experience a strong current setting to the North.

28. S. Lat. 33° 58′; W. Long. 336° 13′; E. Long. 23° 47′; Amp'd 28° 28′ W. Have had much blowing weather for some time. This day saw the land about Muscle Bay,[1] at 11 leagues distance. At Noon Cape Talhado bore NW. The current has changed, and now sets strong to the SW. Wind from the Westward.

Off the Cape of Good Hope.

29. S. Lat. 34° 12′; W. Long. 337° 6′; E. Long. 22° 54′. Soundings 45 fm. Black sand, 2½ leagues from land, many smoakes on shore. At Noon the land in sight bore from North to ENE., a strong current in favour. Wind right a head.

30. S. Lat. 34° 22′; W. Long. 338° 3′; E. Long. 21° 57 ☉ ☾. Many Gannetts and some seals round. Pass'd Cape St. Brass, saw the 7 Hills, and a number of Fires on the shore through the Night. Generally keep about 5 leagues from the Coast. Wind a head. So ends.

May 1. S. Lat. 34° 49′; W. Long. 340° 9′; E. Long. 19° 51′; Amp'd 25° 18′ W. Land at 10 leagues distance, 75 fm. sand and shells. A current to the S & W.

2. S. Lat. 34° 29′; W. Long. 340° 27′; E. Long. 19° 33′; Azi. 26° 24′ W. Wind steady from the Westward, not even allowing us a tolerable slant. Sounding 54 fm. grey sand with shells. Keep an offing generally of about 6 or 7 leagues, the land very mountainous in our present situation. At Noon the land 5 leagues distance, 57 fm., fine grey sand and shells.

3. S. Lat. 34° 32′; W. Long. 337° 30′; E. Long. 22° 30′ ☉ ☾. Fresh gales, employ'd working to windward.

4. S. Lat. 35° 1′; W. Long. 340° 0′; E. Long. 20° 0′ ○ ☾. At length, thank God, the wind chang'd to the Eastward, made all sail, haul'd more to the Southward to clear Cape Lagullas.[2]

5. S. Lat. 34° 40′; W. Long. 340° 30′; E. Long. 19° 30′ ☉ ☾. Saw the Table land and Gunners Quoin to the East of False bay. At Noon Cape Point bore NW'd 10 leagues. Wind SE. Bore off to the North'd and West'd.

9. S. Lat. 31° 29′; W. Long. 344° 39′; E. Long. 15° 21′; Azi. 22° 0′ W. Wind from the Westward.

10. S. Lat. 30° 24′; W. Long. 346° 28′; E. Long. 13° 32′; Azi. 21° 40′ W. Wind at SW. and fair weather. Crew all in health.

13. S. Lat. 27° 7′; W. Long. 350° 52′; E. Long. 9° 8′; Amp'd 20° 34′ W. ☉ ☾. Winds still from SW to NW.

[1] Mossel Bay. [2] Agulhas.

16. S. Lat. 24° 27′; W. Long. 353° 1′; E. Long. 6° 59′; Azi & Amp'd 20° 26′, 19° 22′ W. ☉ ☾ ✶ ☾. Winds steady from the Westward.

17. S. Lat. 24° 27′; W. Long. 353° 16′; E. Long. 6° 44′; ○ ☾. Amp'd 20° 30′. Tight winds for men in a hurry, steady at NW.

20. S. Lat. 20° 9′; W. Long. 357° 3′; E. Long. 2° 57′. This day took the SE. trade winds box'd her away for St. Helena.

21. Pass'd the Meridian of London.

St. Helena Island.

25. S. Lat. 15° 54′; W. Long. 5° 46′. Saw the Island of St. Helena at Sunset. Hove to for the night. Early in the morning sent a boat in to ask permission of the Governor to anchor in the Bay. At 9 the Boat return'd, and the officer reported favorably. Bore off, and at 10 anchor'd in Chapell Vally bay, in 14 fm. mud and sand, the Church bearing SE. Found riding here several English India and Whale Ships — waiting for Convoy. At this place we first heard of the War and troubles in Europe, and that poor Louis was a head shorter. Capt. Gray landed to visit the Governor. Employ'd watering. The Lieutenant Governor (by name *Robinson*) paid us a visit. He appear'd to be an excellent man and was anxious to obtain curiositys from us, to put in his Museum. He appear'd gratify'd with the Collection that was present'd him. I must confess that I was agreeably surpriz'd on landing at James Town, for from the appearance it has from the Ship at anchor you feel prepossessed against it, but to me, when on shore, 't was quite a pleasant place, and the sight of an English Lady made my heart feel all in an uproar — and alas! the poor Sandwich Isle Girls were entirely forgot. So it is, and we cannot help it.

26. S. Lat. 15° 54′; W. Long. 5° 46′. Finish'd watering, and got ready for sea. I made an excursion in company with a Brother Officer to view the Company's Garden, and was amply rewarded for my trouble. 'T was kept in fine order. St. Helena had been visited by a famine, not long since, which carried off the greatest part of their stock and greatly distress'd the inhabitants. Consequently cou'd not procure much refreshments for the Ship.

The Island to windward makes a most rugged appearance, and indeed in the Bay 't is not much mended but to leeward 't is quite pleasant and the roads — though the work of Art cheifly — are far from being bad. The Inhabitants are very polite to strangers, and in short no Man after a long voyage ought to pass this pleasant and agreeable place without stopping. You get the Water with great ease, as its convey'd to the Port by pipes under ground. You fill

with a Hose, and are not oblidg'd to take the Casks from the Boat, but in case you do, there is a Crane on the *pier* to load with. Shou'd have sail'd this evening but 't is against the rules of the Port to sail after sunset.

BOUND FOR BOSTON.

27. S. Lat. 15° 34′; W. Long. 6° 15′. Saild at daylight, and stood to the NW., with pleasant sensations enough at what awaits us in that direction.

28. S. Lat. 14° 33′; W. Long. 7° 14′. Azi. 12° 6′ W. ☉ ☾. Pleasant trade winds and fair weather.

June 3. S. Lat. 8° 32′; W. Long. 15° 9′ ○ ☾ ✳ ☾. Azi. & Amp'd 11° 2′ W., 10° 50′ W. Pass'd the Isle of Assencion about midnight, at 2 miles distance.

7. S. Lat. 1° 22′; W. Long. 20° 10′. Azi. 11° 38′ W. ○ ☾. Plenty of fish about the Ship, and a few Birds.

9. N. Lat. 1° 10′; W. Long. 22° 33′; Amp'd 7° 41′ W. ✳ ☾. This is the fourth time the Equator has been cross'd during the Voyage.

16. N. Lat. 6° 0′; W. Long. 30° 38′. Azi. 6° 48′ W. ○ ☾. Dull times. Winds very light and baffling.

20. N. Lat. 7° 28′; W. Long. 33° 26′; Variation 2° 26′ W. ☉ ☾. This day took the NE. trade winds, having lost the SE. trades in Lat. 4° 30′ North. Winds between have generally been from the West'd but very light.

22. N. Lat. 9° 58′; W. Long. 36° 49′; Azi. 2° 26′ W. Pleasant trade winds. Employ'd painting ship, etc.

24. N. Lat. 12° 38′; W. Long. 41° 0′; Amp'd 3° 7′ W. Pleasant trade winds. Employ'd painting ship, etc.

27. N. Lat. 17° 55′; W. Long. 46° 36′; Azi. 4° 36′ W. Generally fresh winds. No Birds, or Fish.

30. N. Lat. 22° 11′; W. Long. 51° 2′; Azi & Amp'd 3° 10′ W.

16 ⊙ ☉☾ ☾ ✳☾ Sights.

Gentle trades and fair weather. Several sail pass'd at a *distance*.

July 2. N. Lat. 24° 29′; W. Long. 53° 11′; Azi. 2° 46′ W. ○ ☾. Spoke an English Brig, under American colours, from New London, bound to Grenada, loaded with stock. Was oblidg'd to fire several shot a head of him before he wou'd stop. Purchas'd out of her many Sheep Hogs etc., with two tierces Bread. This was quite a seasonable Supply, as we had been eating maggotty bread for this some time.

5. N. Lat. 25° 33′; W. Long. 56° 13′. Spoke two Sloops from Portland for Guadal[oupe].

8. N. Lat. 28° 16′; W. Long. 59° 35′; Variation 1° 28′ E. ☉ ☾. This day the NE. trade wind left us, took it from the Southward.

18. N. Lat. 40° 17′; W. Long. 65° 15′; Variation 14° 55′ W. ☉ ☾ ✶ ☾. Spoke the Brig *Betsey* from New York, Wm. Williams Master, bound to Amsterdam. Have experienc'd much blowing weather from the North and West since leaving the Trades, and generally squalls of rain. Ship's Crew are all in health, but anxious to get home, as the Ship's provisions have grown quite bad and but little of it left.

20. N. Lat. 40° 23′; W. Long. 67° 51′; Azi. & Amp'd 12° 17′ W. Winds from the Northward.

21. N. Lat. 40° 29′; W. Long. 68° 35′; Azi. 7° 16′ W. Dull times for men in a hurry. The *Columbia* is in fine order, having given the rigging a complete overhaul since leaving St. Helena. Rounded to and got soundings 67 fm. fine black and white sand.

22. N. Lat. 42° 11′; W. Long. 68° 45′. At Sunset sounded, in 38 fm. gray sand. Spoke a Sloop from Newbury port, bound to the West Indies, told us Cape Cod bore NW. 30 leagues. At Midnight shoald our water pretty sudden, from 20 to 15, 12, 10 and 8 fm, fine white sand on Georges Shoal; hauld to the East and soon deep'd it again to 30 fm. At Noon Latt. as above, soundings in 40 fathom. Wind from the WSW. Hard luck.

24. Lower'd the yawl and sent her on board a fishing Schooner in sight to the west'd, it being nearly calm. At Sunset the boat return'd and Officer reported that the Skipper of the Schooner cou'd not spare any salt provisions, but sold us 3 Bar'l Salt Mackarell and about 300 Ship Biscuit. These last were very grateful. Divided them fore and aft among the Crew. A breeze sprang up from the Eastward pt., all sail, and at daylight saw Cape Cod bearing SW. 6 leagues, and the Gurnett WBS, the land abreast us on the South Shore, 4 leagues distance. Several sail in sight. Employ'd turning to Windward, the wind having shifted to the NW.

ARRIVED AT BOSTON.

25. Light breezes and pleasant weather. At 1 P. M. nearly abreast of Cohassett Rocks, almost calm. At Sunset we had got too near to Hassett Ledges, by reason of the tide. However a small breeze sprang up and we san'd off. At daylight Boston Light bore WBN. 3 leagues distant. At 8 A. M. a pilot came on board and took charge to take the Ship to *Boston*. At Meridian pass'd the Light house, with a light air from the Eastward. At 6 we pass'd Castle *William*, and gave a federal salute, which was return'd. A fine Breeze at SE. At 7 anchored off the Long wharfe in the Stream

and saluted the town, with 11 Guns which was return'd from the Wharfes, with three welcome *Huzzas*.

☞At making Boston Light, from which place we took our departure, we have just made 360 degrees of Longitude West, which is the Circumference of our Globe — of course we have lost one complete day. It was Friday at Boston, and Thursday with us. 'T is impossible to express our feelings at again meeting with our friends. But the loss of an affectionate and much lov'd Sister, during my absence, was a great obstacle to the happiness I shou'd otherways have enjoy'd.

So Ends the Remarks on *Columbia's* Voyage.

JOHN BOIT.

LEE-THORNELY LETTERS.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Frederick C. Shattuck the following exchange of letters between Henry Lee and Thomas Thornely have been deposited in the Society. The positions occupied by the writers, the time of writing and the subjects treated give a value to the correspondence beyond the historical interest. Mr. Lee was long prominent in the discussion of currency and tariff questions which followed the wild-cat banking of the Jackson administration and the "tariff of abominations" of 1828. Mr. Thornely was a member of Parliament, with close relations with the leading writers on finance and trade at a time when currency problems and the position of the Bank of England were quite as acute as the corresponding problems in the United States. His letters, written for an American, give a somewhat different view of public affairs than can be gathered from English memoirs and newspapers of the time, and extend through the period of the adoption of free trade by Great Britain and the passage of the Bank restriction act of 1844, measures that have profoundly influenced the course of English history and, indirectly, of the world. Unfortunately, only a single letter from Mr. Lee has been found, and it would appear that he kept no copies of his letters beyond that now printed.

HENRY LEE TO THOMAS THORNELY.

Orig. per *British Queen* sailed April 1er, '40. No. 2. *Duplicate.*

BOSTON, 24th March, 1840.

DEAR SIR, — Since I replied to your favor of the 10 Jan'y per *Great Western* under date of the 17th inst., I have received Mr. Jones Lloyd's pamphlet,[1] which I have read with great attention and great satisfaction. His plan of improving your currency and your banking system, is in my opinion the best which has been presented to the public, and yet I have strong doubts of its working out *all* the practical results which Mr. Lloyd anticipates. Confine the bank to the mere administration of the currency in one branch and to loaning in the other, will be a manifest improvement on its twofold office of performing both these functions conflicting in their nature, not only with the public, but private interests of the nation; but what security can you have that [gov't] commissioners united with Corporation directors will not, from ignorance, or from want of firmness of principle abuse the power entrusted to them, as the Bank of England directors have heretofore done? It has been said in most of the pamphlets in defence of the Bank management and admitted generally by those who impugn their conduct, that the directors had no sinister interests to promote by *over issues*, because it was shewn that none of the directors owned over £2000, or the sum necessary to qualify them for office. That however is a very erroneous conclusion, you will find among the directors, and among its most active and influential ones, members of mercantile and banking establishments, who have a vital interest, not in raising or sustaining existing dividends of 8 per ct. but in sustaining and enhancing the prices of foreign stocks, at least long enough to enable the dealers in them to force them off to that large class of men who from their limited fortunes are strongly tempted to make investments in stocks, which at the prices paid for them, yield double the income yours do. Now it is the inflation of your currency acting upon a spirit of speculation, which has always raised the value of this kind of property beyond its natural value, and at the same time given a currency to it, which in the ordinary circumstance of a sound state of the currency, would not have found buyers. It was during the expansion of your currency of 1824 to 1826 which gave a value of 20/ in £ to the South American stocks and which in truth caused the issues of those stocks, when the London houses and their

[1] Samuel Jones Loyd, Baron Overstone (1796–1883). The pamphlet was his *Remarks on the Management of the Circulation and the Conduct of the Bank of England during 1839.*

agents, knew, from the condition and character of the states from whom they emanated, there was no chance of their ever being paid, when the loans came to maturity, or that the interest could be paid. Now who were the men who introduced these gambling securities on your Exchange and who made fortunes by their commissions on the negotiation? I say some of the most efficient ones were in the Bank direction and others so connected with the direction, that they could influence them. Again, who are the persons who have urged our states and corporations to plunge into debt for internal improvements [some] fifty years in advance of our means of paying for them, and in some cases of their ability even had we the means? I say the most efficient promoters and originators are to be found in the "Bank Parlour." But for the interest these men and their connections had in American stocks, the circulation of the bank of England would have been managed very differently from what it was during 1839. They would have contracted the circulation when it would have prevented the sudden revulsion which took place and in spite of bad harvest, a fact as well known at the bank, months before they curtailed, as it now is. The revulsion of 1837 was brought about by the seven or eight Anglo-American houses by their credits of 15 to 16,000,000 to the gambling merchants of this country, and who were those houses? Why, three of them had partners in the Bank direction and there were other directors who were commencing American connections and have since formed them, and are now *deep*, I imagine, in our state stocks, and New York free bank stocks most of which were got up for the purpose of creating paper money, upon real estate securities, which have fallen 25 to 75 per ct. below what they were valued at, when deposited as securities, and on the worst descriptions of state stocks, on which interest can't be paid unless your lenders will lend the money, and as to principal it will be paid when your National debt is paid. And what is the position of these Anglo-American houses and stock jobbers? Why they are so deeply involved in American stocks state and bank, that they may be ruined unless their value can be greatly raised on this side or on yours. In this country they have no certain value, but what is founded on the prices with you, but if our banks can again inflate our currency by an over issue of 40 to 50,000,000 of bank notes, stocks, like all other property will advance, and not only advance, but again have an artificial value, as a gambling property. In 1833 to 1836 during which period the issues of our banks were extended 50 per cent. at least, state stocks and all other stocks sold at 10 to 25 and even 50% premium which can now be had at 2/ to 15/ in £. American stocks then even those of the wealthiest states with exception of Massachusetts, and some few others who are but

small, and which are still above par here as well as in England; can't be raised to par or anything near to it, unless by [ef]forts of holders and speculators on your side, and among those who are liable to be the most affected are gentlemen who meet in the Bank of England Parlour, and others who have such an influence over those gentlemen, as may induce them to look much more to the beneficial and personal effects of an expansion than to the great interests of the Nation. Again who has a deeper interest in sustaining and raising prices of cotton, raw silk, teas, indigo etc. than the most influential members of the Bank? To put banking and currency on a permanent and solid footing, whether the proposed change advocated by Mr. Lloyd is made or not, there should not be a mercantile or a stock jobber in the direction, because every man interested deeply in the fluctuation of stocks or merchandise is in a position to benefit by a condition of things adverse to the national interest. It is impolitic and as injurious to the public interest to allow a currency to be created and administered by merchants and bankers, no matter what may be their moral and intellectual standing, as it would be to allow the judges of your courts, who are probably as honest and as intelligent as the gentlemen of the Exchange, to sit in judgment on cases, the res[ult] of which would affect and deeply affect their pecuniary salvation. The creation and management of a currency is one of the most important functions of sovereignty, and ought no more to be transferred to a Corporation of individuals, than the power of making laws. For these reasons I have no great confidence that your circulation can be kept in a state of perfection, upon the principles laid down by Mr. Lloyd, but I shall be glad to see them carried into action, because it would be a great improvement, and in the meantime a knowledge on the subject extended, whether from reflection or from the sufferings incident to the practical evils of the fluctuations in the standard of value, the public mind would become sufficiently enlightened to establish an entire metal currency, or at any rate something as near to it as the currency of France was, prior to establishments of the private banks, whose action [but] for the controlling, wise, and honest conduct of the Bank of France, would have been much more inju[rious] to the commercial and national interests of that country than they have been the past [ ] years. Mr. Lloyd's plan of making the Bank of England a regulator of the currency and connecting the Direction with the Administration of your National Government will no doubt prevent much of the evil incident to the present bad management of the currency, but who will regulate the Regulator? Can you rely on Government? Your own history shews that in an emergency Government will lead the

way to an inflation of currency. Who forced that act upon the Bank in 1797? Mr. Pitt and his friends. That there was no overcoming necessity was shewn by the state of the currency which for two or three years was on a level with the currencies of the continent, as may be seen by the foreign exchanges and prices of bullion. Who sustained the bank in its subsequent over issues? The Administration, and to cover their folly and iniquity, contended that a paper which required 26/ to 27/ to buy a guinea was not a depreciated one, and there are millions and millions who to this day have not any clearer conceptions of a sound or unsound currency, than the prevalent ones of that period, and it is only within fifteen or twenty years, that the governing directors of [the] Bank of England have emerged from the darkest ignorance and errors, which are evinced in the parliamentary discussions and on examinations before parliamentary committees on the questions of banking and currency. There is another point to be considered. Those who believe the Bank of England under a more intelligent, independent and impartial administration, can keep your currency on a level with the metal and therefore sound and stable currencies of the neighboring countries, rely on the foreign exchanges as a test and a safe one. In the first place an inflation of currency acting upon a spirit of speculation and usually originating it, precedes the alteration in the exchanges to an extent which renders it impossible to avert all the mischief of sudden changes in the value of property and to give the reaction all the benefits of a currency consisting wholly of the precious metals. 2nd. What if the countries with whom we deal extensively are afflicted with an un[sound] currency? like the United States for instance. Now if your whole trade were with us the rates of foreign exchange would be an unsafe guide, as they have been to us for a considerable portion of the last ten years, during which our currency has been superfluous, though the exchanges have generally been at par and part of the time 1 or 2 per cent. in our favor. Our imports have been greatly in advance of our exports leaving for years 1834, 1835, 1836 and 1837 an excess of imports over exports of $135,273,410. And how were the Exchanges maintained? Why by running in debt to the "Anglo-American" houses and to others 15 to 20,000,000 Stg. In 1838 our imports and exports balanced each other. In 1839, we have for year ending 30 Septr., an excess of imports of $45,000,000 to which add 15,000,000 for over valuation from exports, as they stand in the Custom House records in an inflated currency. Here then is a balance of payments of 60,000,000. Part is paid by sale of state stocks, borrowings on Banks and other stocks, about 10,000,000 by failures of American [de]btors and by losses on goods sent here on foreign account, the

proceeds of which do not exceed 10/ in £ and [there is] still a balance due which will be paid by our remittances of produce. Now how did the Exchanges in Europe indicate an inflation of $40 to 50,000,000, which is the least of the excess? Why not at all, we kept them straight by exporting money securities and mercantile credit and if your capitalists, merchants and stock jobbers had been content with more of those commodities, we should have gone on importing to such an extent as your credulity and riches would hold out, and they have sometimes appeared to me to be inexhaustible. If your currency and ours had been in a natural and sound state, these credit and stock operations could not have been carried on, and the commercial transactions between the two nations would now have been in their usual prosperous condition. If the currencies of France and Holland etc. were like yours, there would not be that steadiness of prices, the sure characteristic of a metal currency (or a paper one if there was any power to keep it on a level with a metal one). They would be, like yours and ours, occasionally in case of derangement, and then your regulator, would be out of order; [for] every nation of Europe, like the states of this confederacy would have currencies of an unequal value. In other words the standard of value would be lost and to get right all Europe would have to go through the process we did in 1837, namely suspend specie payments, contract, get the currencies of all Europe on the same level, and then by another expansion be on the road to the same catastrophe from which they had but just recovered.

Such was the course things took in this country in 1837 and 1838, and when we have recovered from our present difficulties, our principles of banking and currency being unchanged, we shall rapidly expand and be liable to the same results at which we arrived last October by the expansion of 1838 and 1839. Thus far we have learnt but little by experience and if you read Mr. Clay's, Mr. Webster's, and most other speeches in Congress and elsewhere, you will find they attribute our pecuniary difficulties to wrong causes and they lament that by a reduction of a superfluous currency prices of cotton, flour etc. should have fallen, fallen to a level with prices of Europe. They believe or pretend to believe in the existence at the same moment of two prices, one on this side of the Atlantic based on a currency above the level of Europe, and another based on the sound currencies of those countries with whom we trade; and in whose markets we must sell those very products. The leading men on the side of Mr. Van Buren have somewhat sounder notions, but it is with them as it is with their opponents, almost wholly a party question, and if the Whigs, as they call themselves, were to argue in favor of a metal currency, or a greater infusion of

metal into our almost exclusively paper currency, the Administration party would take the other side. As matters now stand, the "Whigs" have rendered the more sound notions maintained by their opponents, very unpopular, by ascribing to their agency the reduction of an exuberant currency, to a sound currency, and in that way reducing wages of labor and prices of produce, though there has been no reduction in price of labor in any degree corresponding to the fall of prices of provisions, fuel and other necessaries of life. The people however can see a reduction in prices of labor, more clearly than a reduction of prices of what they consume, at any rate they do not comprehend the necessity of suffering by the one while they enjoy the benefits of the other. They are told that their labor is reduced in value, which is not true, since a day's work will now procure more of the necessaries of life than in 1838 and 1839. Again the planters of cotton and growers of grain, whose staples have come down from their artificial standards, are disposed to join in the clamour against the sound currency party, and a considerable portion of the people of the country would prefer an entire paper currency, or more properly speaking, a system which must lead to it, to a circulation kept within the limits of the sound currencies of the nations with whom we trade. I would not have it inferred, that all the ruinous fluctuations in the value of property, proceed, in my estimation, from ill managed paper currency, nor that they could wholly be avoided, if a currency was entirely metal or like that of France which may be four-fifths metal. I do maintain, however, that in such a case the changes would be gradual and unimportant, and that demand and supply would be the great regulators of prices. If this is denied, I will adduce France as an instance of the truth of my proposition. Since the establishment of regular government, commencing with the ascendency of Buonaparte to the supreme power, their currency has never been in disorder nor their commercial concerns suffered from those revulsions, which have been so frequent in your country and ours, though during this long period, the political condition of France has been in a critical state at various times, and for some years the country was in the hands of a foreign army, who levied enormous contributions of money and interrupted many of the great branches of industry. Holland and Hamburgh have experienced the like benefits from a specie currency and no doubt owe their prosperity in some degree to its existence. If, however, an entire metal currency can't be established, then a suppression of all notes under £20 will be an improvement, and on the expiration of the bank charter, a reorganization of an institution upon the principles laid down by Mr. Lloyd and in which Mr. Tooke [1]

[1] Thomas Tooke (1774–1858), author of *History of Prices*, 1839–1857.

and other writers on his side will concur. Indeed Mr. Tooke maintains that the only benefit derived from paper is in the interest saved on the dead capital, which would be required, but that is more than lost by every revulsion through which you have passed for forty years, to say nothing of the immoral effects of changes in the value of property so injurious to the general interests of the nation and so injurious to the most enterprising and laborious and useful portion of the community. The two great points of attention then, in my apprehension, to which your people and government should be directed, are CURRENCY and *Corn* and I am glad therefore, to perceive you have discussed them together, a steady, unfluctuating standard of value and a free trade in Corn will remove some of the most potent and frequently occurring causes of your distress. I hope therefore, that you will become an agitator, as Mr. Villiers[1] has promised he will be, and never cease your efforts till they are crowned with success. We are now suffering for want of a market for our grain, of which we have a heavy surplus, but your duty is so fluctuating, that prudent men are not willing to adventure. The duty some few months since was 1/ now 22/ and by the time shipments will reach, may be 25/ or even 30/. If it were now fixed for six months at even 10/ we should send you $10 and perhaps $15,000,000 in flour, maize etc., for that is but a small percentage of our whole crop, which may be estimated at even the present standard of prices at even $200,000,000. It is, however, often said that an average harvest in the United States affords but a small surplus, so that in event of a repeal of your corn duties no great reliance can be placed on our supplies. It is true our crops are limited to the ordinary wants of the country and our usual export demand to South America and West Indies, which may have averaged the past ten to fifteen years $5 to $6,000,000 and it would be unwise to go further because in the event of a greater surplus there is no market and prices would fall very low, as is your case, in a redundant harvest. If however, your duty was fixed and at a moderate rate say 8/ or 10/ quarter and permanently so, it would be the interest of about 6,000,000 of our grain growing population to extend their corn planting and this grand staple, the best of all currencies, would be like cotton a leading article of export to your half fed population, and every dollar it produced invested in the products of your island. This new source of wealth would increase the means of the Western and Middle States to pay for the manufactures of New England, as well as old England, and render an extreme tariff unpopular in those regions and unnecessary in this quarter. I am glad to learn that the removal or modification of the Corn duties

[1] Charles Pelham Villiers (1802–1898).

may, in your opinion, become a Cabinet question. It should be so, for sooner or later, by moral means, or by physical means, that foolish and wicked impediment to the national welfare and national progress, will and must be removed, and who ever shall be mainly instrumental in effecting it now, cannot fail to enjoy a reputation in history more enviable than all the victories of a Wellington, because the results of such a reformation will contribute much more to your national strength and national happiness, than all the beneficial consequences of your *glorious wars!* from the Roman Invasion to the battle of Waterloo. Indeed the only durable monument of fame which your warriors and statesmen of the past half century have left behind is $4,000,000,000 of national debt, called by those few who were the most instrumental in its creation and expenditure a national blessing, but by the taxed and disregarded many, termed and justly termed an unjust, an unsupportable burden. In respect to our state debts, stocks and other money securities, the more they are investigated the worse they appear. The loans having been for the most part injudiciously applied, have been a serious injury to the country, and they will I fear be a source of injury to those who hold them. The annual interest due abroad on them cannot be less than $10,000,000 per annum, a portion of which however, cannot be paid save by new borrowings in Europe, and the balance will absorb a portion of our exports, which would be otherwise invested in your manufactures. I recommend you and your friends to abstain from all dealings in them. In commercial matters we are utterly stagnant. The enclosed remarks made by me in one of our newspapers, embrace some of my notions on the subject. In the course of four or five months, there will be a favorable reaction, but we shall not be in a condition to take freely of your manufactures of iron, cottons, woollens, linens etc. till 1841.

You shall soon hear from me again and in return I shall be gratified to hear from you and more especially upon the progress made in overthrowing the Corn Laws.

If you are [acqu]ainted with Mr. Lloyd I shall be glad to have him see what I have said of his pamphlet. I have also been in correspondence on the question of free trade with Mr. Thomas Tooke, whom I esteem as one of the best practical and theoretic writers upon all branches of political economy, though I think he does not, in his work on prices, allow enough for the injurious effects of a fluctuating currency. To him I shall be glad to have you exhibit what I have written, if you happen to come in his way. Yours truly,

[H. Lee.]

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 3 Sept., 1840.

MY DEAR SIR, — I had very great pleasure in receiving your letter dated the 26 July, and I may say I never received a communication more replete with sound views. I am not sure about a currency entirely metallic, but undoubtedly we have gone very wrong in this country, and in yours it is quite lamentable to witness the state of your currency. You are quite right in believing that much U. S. Bank Stock is held by worthy people, not in trade, but who have made the purchase for the sake of a fair interest return. I know several ladies who are put to inconvenience for want of the dividends. I sent to Mr. Jones Loyd one copy of the printed articles which you sent me from the newspapers, and desired he would forward them to Mr. Tooke. I have a very handsome letter from him in which he begs I will thank you for the perusal of these papers, and to assure you that he shall always be obliged by having an opportunity of perusing any farther remarks which may come from your pen. He says, "I cannot doubt that his mode of treating the subject must prove useful and instructive to his countrymen, and by a reiterated exposition of the truth, I trust that an effectual impression will gradually be produced upon public opinion in his country and our own." The copies which you sent for the *Morning Chronicle*, I have hesitated to send, for the 'City article' of that paper and its Philadelphia agent 'Publicus' have been from first to last, writing up the United States Bank in a way that I think very discreditable. I have remonstrated about it, twice at least, but without success. There is some private history about this matter which I have been unable to fathom, but I have my suspicions that there are parties (not the proprietor of the paper) who get a consideration for what they write. I must beg you to send me any thing farther that you write, for I shall have the gratification of reading and can make use of the articles to public account. Our harvest in the South is over, and the grain is partially secured all over the country. Wheat will probably be a fair crop; oats, barley, potatoes and turnips in abundance. By the *management* of interested parties the wheat averages have been run up, so that the duty has this day fallen to 2/8 per quarter, or 1/7 per bbl. of flour. This will take all the stock out of bond, and the duty will continue thus low for three or four weeks, when, as prices will probably fall materially, the duty will rapidly advance, and we shall be no longer an importing country. Nothing can be more absurd than this system, and I have never met with a man of sense who did not say so. Our Ministers are all favorable to an alteration of the Corn Laws, and would

like a low fixed duty but they are timid about it, knowing that they have not the support of either House of Parliament. You will find in a *Chronicle* which I send you, an extract from one of your letters, with an editorial article upon it. I do not agree with you that any thing could be got from the Tories in respect of Free Trade. The Duke of Wellington is now an aged man,[1] and will be carried off by one of those attacks to which he is so subject. As to Sir Robert Peel, I have heard every important speech that he has made since I have been in Parliament and I come to the conclusion that he is really a narrow minded man. He has great qualifications, he has a fine voice and is an excellent debater, but then he has had great advantages. He had a first rate college education, he has been in Parliament thirty years and has filled most of the high offices of state. He has always been trammelled by his connection with the Church and with Toryism, and so he will continue to be, not having strength of mind to divest himself of it. I have sometimes thought if Peel would take up Free Trade he might become the greatest man of the age. Lord Melbourne is not *profligate* in a moral sense, but he is getting old, is very much at Court and not alive to the commercial wants of the country.

I was serving at the close of the Session, on a committee on *import duties* to inquire whether they were for protection or for revenue, and it was an enquiry which interested me greatly. We had the two Secretaries and a former Secretary of the Board of Trade, all giving the strongest evidence in favor of Free Trade and we had excellent evidence from mercantile men. The evidence is not yet printed, but I am in daily expectation of receiving it, when I shall have the pleasure to send you a copy of it, as well as of the evidence, before the Committee on Banks of Issue. I wish you had been in England when our Committee was sitting — you might have favored us with opinions which would have had great weight.

You have attended to the case of Nolte.[2] Certainly it is a most extraordinary fact, that this person, not in the possession of one cent, should be able to purchase thirty to forty thousand bales of cotton. A neighbour came to my brother with a draft at 90 days and a bill of lading to be delivered on condition of the draft being accepted. My brother at once said he would have nothing to do with the transaction without writing to me, and my answer was, under no temptation whatever to put his name to any of Nolte's drafts. You may be assured there has been an enormous loss somewhere by Nolte's operations.

[1] He died in 1852.

[2] Vincent Nolte, who has related his story in *Fifty Years in both Hemispheres*, 1854.

I came away from Parliament, much discouraged about Free Trade, and yet I have such entire reliance on the soundness of the principle, that certain I am that Free Trade must ultimately prevail. I beg to hear from you upon this all interesting question and with my best acknowledgments for your former communications, I remain, Dear Sir, truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERFOOL, 18 Sept., 1840.

MY DEAR SIR, — The evidence given before the Committee of the House of Commons on Banks of Issue has just been printed. I have sent you a copy of it by the Caledonia Steamer as per inclosed receipt, and I hope you will have leisure to look it over. Mr. Page, one of the witnesses, is a person who has written a good deal in the *Times* newspaper, under the signature of Henry Hardcastle. I am in daily expectation of receiving the evidence before the Committee on Import Duties, of which I shall send you a copy. It discloses a system which is perfectly disgraceful to a commercial community.

The working of our Corn Laws is very striking at the present moment. Last week but one the duty on flour was 1/7 per bbl., last week 4/, today it has risen to 6/5 and next week it will be 8/2. I believe our wheat crop will be nearly an average; oats, barley and potatoes most abundant. The trade I think is better than it [was] but I cannot look for any permanent improvement until we relax our commercial legislation.

I have just been on board the *Acadia* and *President*, two of the fine steamers. What a revolution in the navigation of the Atlantic — my first passage to New York was fifty-eight days.

My nephew[1] writes us he had had the pleasure to see you. He is a steady youth, and I hope will fortify his notions of Free Trade. With great regard, Yours,

THO. THORNELY.

Letters to or from any part of the United Kingdom by the Government Steamers which go to Boston are 1/ postage per half ounce. By the private Steamers *Great Western*, etc., they are 8*d* per half ounce, newspapers 2*d* each.

[1] William, son of John D. Thornely.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 19 Oct., 1840.

MY DEAR SIR, — I inclose a receipt for a parcel which I have addressed to you by the *Britannia*, containing the Report of the Committee on Import Duties with the evidence given before it. There was not time before the close of the Session to draw up such a report as was due to the very important evidence given before the Committee. The Report ought [to] have put forth in a prominent manner, the leading points of the evidence given by the very intelligent witnesses who appeared before us.

I have to thank you for a letter by the *Britannia*, but am sorry to say that having been out of Town and hav[ing] also some pressing engagements for the present, I have not yet had time to go over it. With great regard, Yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 5 January, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have for some time past contemplated a retirement from business, and I now beg leave to hand you a Circular shewing that I have withdrawn from trade. I am glad of the opportunity of placing my eldest nephew in partnership with his father, and shall feel quite as much interest for the new firm, as I did for the old one. If it happens to you to be able to serve them, I will be obliged if you will do so.

When you favor me with any newspapers, please to send them *entire*, open at the ends, and the *number* of papers marked on the address. In this way the Post office charges *2d* each paper, by the Government Steamers and it is no higher if they go on to London or any other part of the Kingdom, but when *parts* of newspapers are sent they are considered as letters and charged 1/. per half ounce. I hope we shall do something in the Import duties this year but the monopolists are very strong and always act together.

I was sadly at a loss, whilst the Committee was sitting for some witness who could show the working of our restrictive policy on the trade with the U. S. and I wished a hundred times that you had been here. The Americans who come over, are frequently Buyers of Goods and scarcely regard the principles of trade, whilst such as understand the principle are ignorant of the details. I sought out a gentleman from Lowell, but found he knew nothing beyond the establishment of manufactures there. My nephew desires his respects and I remain, Dear Sir, truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 9 March, 1831 [1841.]

MY DEAR SIR, — I send you the *Chronicle* of to-day to shew you what is thought of the Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted to the House of Representatives. It was received here yesterday, and I believe made a considerable impression — this however I doubt not is wearing away, and that the public will soon be of opinion that there will be no interruption of the peace between our countries. It is certain there is no cause for war (when indeed will there be an adequate cause) and I must say that in this country there is no feeling towards the United States, except that of a wish to cultivate friendly relations. I do trust the McLeod affair will speedily be adjusted.

This week the president of the Board of Trade is to introduce a measure to Parliament, to remove restrictions, and to reduce the duty on Imports into our Colonies, which is intended to benefit the Colonies but will also, I trust be to your advantage, by increasing your intercourse with those possessions. The Resolutions which I sent you some time ago, in favor of a modification of the Tariff, have been signed by 110 Members of the House of Commons, not including any one connected with the Government, but who are all favorable to us, and there are also many Members who concur with us, but who do not commit themselves by signing. I understand a public meeting which was held at Liverpool yesterday, the Mayor in the Chair, was quite unanimous in favor of a modification of the Tariff. I have sent you one or two numbers of the *Examiner* which has contained some good Free Trade articles. On the whole I am convinced this cause is progressing — slowly no doubt, but in the end sound principles must prevail. U. S. Bank shares have been sold here at £4.10/. now I believe worth £5.10/. but I do not believe those who hold them till the concern is wound up, will ever get so much. Believe me, Dear Sir, Truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 3 April, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have to thank you for your letter dated 12 ulto. The accounts from your side have been looked for with great interest, and those recently received, are considered quite pacific. Here there is no other feeling than that of a very strong desire that peace may continue, and people all ask what makes the Americans so ready to rush into war. I only mention this, as shewing the

general opinion here that you and not we, are the warlike party. Your currency seems still in an unsettled state. I heard last night, that the U. S. Bank Bonds or post notes due here this month will not be paid, but that the holders will be paid their interest and ten per cent of the principal. This is sad work, and the losses by this establishment, to excellent people in this country, ladies and orphans, it is melancholy to think of. The trade of our manufacturing districts is far from being prosperous, and cannot be amended, in my opinion, under our present Corn Laws and in other articles, restrictions such as our present very absurd Tariff imposes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer [1] is to bring out his Budget on the 30th inst. and we are doing all we can, to impress upon the Government the necessity of seeking an increase of revenue by a modification of the Tariff. I cannot help thinking *something will be done*, but our Government is too timid on the subject of Free Trade and they have to contend with powerful interests that have [been] working, I cannot say flourishing, under the protective system.

It is not necessary to cross your letters as postage here is not paid for single or double letters but by weight. Pray let me hear from you any thing that refers to Free Trade etc. Truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 1 May, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR, — I send you a *Morning Chronicle* containing the debate upon the Budget which was brought forward last night by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Previous to this being done, Lord John Russell gave notice that early in June he would move the House to go into Committee on the Corn Laws, and on being much pressed by his opponents as to the object of his motion, he declared that the Cabinet was united in opinion that the time had arrived when the Corn Laws should be altered, and his motion, in accordance with the opinions which he had previously expressed would be, to do away with the fluctuating scale, and lay a *moderate fixed duty*.

The alterations in duty proposed by the Budget, are to reduce the duty on foreign sugars from 63/ which is prohibitory, to 36/. the duty on British remaining at 24/. The timber duties to be altered, that from British possessions to be raised from 10/ to 20/ per load of 50 cubic feet, and foreign to be reduced from 55/ to 50/. Besides these, which are revenue alterations, there is no doubt the President

[1] Francis Thornhill Baring (1796–1866), Lord Northbrook.

of the Board of Trade will propose other modifications, namely coffee, mahogany and other articles. All these announcements were received in the House of Commons, on our side by loud cheers, by the Tories with strong marks of disapprobation, and as to the Corn Laws, almost with dismay. They were taken by surprise about corn, and Sir Robert Peel was particularly savage about the matter. I am happy this great fight, so important to this country, so needful for the happiness of the human race has at length commenced. One may doubt the Corn Law modification being carried, but the proposal is a glorious one, and we shall now see a great battle between the friends of Free Trade, and the Supporters of Monopoly. There will be a great effort made to turn out the Ministers but even if this should happen the present Government will have had the credit of originating sound measures which must be carried in the end. Truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 18 May, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have sent you several newspapers to shew you what is passing in the House of Commons and in the country on the subject of the Ministerial proposal to lay a fixed duty of 8/ per quarter of wheat, and to modify the duties on sugar and timber. The duties on these articles form a part of the Budget, but it is quite understood that Ministers propose also to take up the duties on coffee and many other articles, in short to have a revision of the Tariff and a diminution of protective duties. We, of the Free Trade party have thought it good policy to prolong the debate, which accordingly has already lasted seven nights. The discussion does good out of doors and gives time for the country to be put in motion. The division will take place to-night, and Ministers will be in a minority of at least *thirty* for they are opposed by a combination of Landowners, Ship Owners, West Indians, East Indians and British Americans. The next step will be that Ministers will either resign or dissolve the Parliament. If the latter it will be left to a new parliament to decide what party shall be in power. I hope for a dissolution, and would let the question take its chance.

My great comfort is, that Free Trade principles have been fairly taken up by this Government. Sure I am they must prevail at last, and I think the prospect is fair that something will be gained very shortly, for the country understands the subject in a way it never did before. Accept my best thanks for your last letter. Pray do

not cross them, for I care not about postage, and we now pay by weight and only 1/. per half ounce. With great regard, Truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

[Attached to the letter.]

Notices of Motions.

1. Lord John Russell, — Amendment intended to be proposed to the Amendment proposed by Lord Viscount Sandon, to leave out from the word 'considering' to the end of the Amendment, in order to add the following words, "that it is practicable to supply the present inadequacy of the Revenue to meet the Expenditure of the Country, by a judicious alteration of protective and differential Duties, without any material increase of the public burthens, such a course will, in the opinion of this House, promote the interests of Trade, afford relief to the industrious classes, and is best calculated to provide for the maintenance of public faith and the general welfare of the people.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 25 May, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR, — I trouble you with a line just to say what are our present prospects.

Ministers having been beaten, by a majority of 36, upon their proposed modification of the sugar duties, have brought in a Bill to continue the present sugar duties for a year.

Sir Robert Peel has given notice of a motion of want of confidence in the Ministers for the 27th instant. The debate will probably last some days, and on the 26th we adjourn for Whitsuntide till the 2 June. On the 4th June Lord John Russell brings on his motion about the Corn Laws. The latter motion will certainly be lost, and Peel may possibly (tho' I think not quite certainly) have a very small majority as to want of confidence in Ministers.

Parliament will be dissolved next month, and meet again probably in October or November. I *earnestly hope* the people may exert themselves at the elections to return Free Trade Members; but the counties are in favor of the Corn Laws, and in the boroughs the influence of monopolists, East India merchants, West India merchants, ship owners and traders to British America, is very great indeed. Come what may, I am delighted the fight has come. Free Trade may be delayed, but once taken up, as it has been, by the Ministers of the country, and it cannot be very long, before these great measures are accomplished. Believe me, Dear Sir, Yours faithfully,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 3 June, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR, — I must again refer you to the newspapers which I send you and to others which you will see, for information of public affairs in this country.

We are in the midst of a debate on Sir Robert Peel's Motion, of want of confidence in Ministers. I believe we shall have a majority against him, but it will be a very small one, if any, and the result is not very material either way, for the Ministers have taken their course, and will not swerve from it. They will bring forward their proposition for a fixed duty on corn (8/ on wheat) and when that is thoroughly discussed and I may add, *lost* (which time will be allowed for) and the other necessary business disposed of, Parliament will be dissolved, probably in three weeks from the present time. At present we are not aware that Mr. Villiers and I shall be opposed at Wolverhampton. Many changes will take place, for we have always a certain number of elderly persons who retire, from inability to undergo the fatigue of a Parliamentary life and there will be gains to us in some places, and of course losses in others.

From the accounts which you will read in the papers, of the public meetings that are taking place, you will find a great spread of knowledge on the subject of Free Trade. This, with an unfavorable state of trade must have its effect on the elections in the manufacturing districts, where I have no doubt we shall gain, but we shall lose in some counties where the unwise landlords exercise a powerful influence. I think we shall gain upon the whole by a dissolution, and I am so confident with you, as to the soundness of Free Trade principles that I am sure they must prevail at last. I hope we shall make progress very soon, and I should be proud if this country should take the lead, regardless of the Tariffs and restrictions of other countries. The Legislature of Pennsylvania, in despite of the Governor of the State, I see has hit upon a most enlightened plan of issuing notes which are to be payable not in specie, but if presented to the amount of $100. in State Stock!! Yours very truly,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 19 July, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am exceedingly obliged to you for the letters you have favored me with, the last dated 29 June. I have sent you some newspapers which will shew you the progress of our elections.

Mr. Villiers and I were re-elected at Wolverhampton without any opposition. The Tories knew they had not the slightest chance of unseating us, so they wisely saved themselves the expense and trouble of a contest. On the whole the elections have turned out worse than I expected, especially in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Lord Morpeth,[1] Lord Milton,[2] Lord Howick and Mr. Hume[3] are unseated, which I consider a great loss, but we have got some new Free Traders, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Ricardo and Dr. Bowring.[4] Although I regret the result of the elections, I am in good spirits about Free Trade. It was never before a question which the people understood or cared for, and it never was a question which the Ministers brought forward on the liberal and extended scale they have now done. I ought to say as to the elections the Liberals have a good majority in the cities and boroughs of the United Kingdom but the counties have swamped our majority. The counties too are monopolists (in a great degree) as to Corn Laws. In the counties the voters are very much under the influence of the landlords, a great proportion of whom are Tories and they have worked the machinery of the registration far better than the Liberal Party have done. My belief is that in the New Parliament which is to meet late in August, we shall muster nearly 300 Members in the opposition (for I presume Peel will come into office immediately *after* Parliament meets) and that we shall be banded together on Free Trade principles, and that in them we shall be strong [*torn*]. No one however appears to think the wheat will be a large crop, and there is some talk that the averages will be worke[d] so as to let in the stock of foreign at a moderate duty. At present it is 23/ [*torn*] per quarter, and if we have good weather I doubt if the duty will go very low, tho' the holders may chuse to pay the duty when they think it at the lowest, rather than hold for another season. I really think Peel must reduce his Sliding Scale for there are many Tories gone into Parliament [*torn*] in support of the great principles that you and I advocate. I think it very likely that Lord Sandon and Emmerson Tennant[5] will be the President and Vice President of the Board of Trade. We must succeed in the end. Yours truly,

THO. THORNELY.

Pray let me hear from you.

[1] George Howard (1773–1848), later sixth Earl of Carlisle.

[2] William Thomas Spencer Wentworth Fitzwilliam, commonly called Lord Viscount Milton.

[3] Joseph Hume (1777–1855).

[4] Sir John Bowring (1792–1872).

[5] Sir James Emerson Tennent (1804–1869).

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 8 Sept., 1841.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote you by the last Packet, and I cannot say that I have now any thing to add that is at all material, but it is pleasant to communicate with you regarding Free Trade. U. S. Bank Shares were lately selling in London at £2.10/. I have for a long time given my opinion to my acquaintances that they are not worth any thing, and I have saved some of them from adventuring at what they thought tempting prices, when they were a good deal higher than they now are. I cannot think that the stock of your Fiscal Bank, if it should be sanctioned by law would meet with buyers in this country, the holders having suffered so severely by the U. S. Bank and other "securities," and they are very generally the same class of persons who have invested their capital in that way. The railways in this country must have had an effect on our money market, for they have absorbed sixty millions sterling and that within a very few years. As a whole the railways have not been a profitable investment, some of them paying either a very small dividend or none at all, but the best lines pay very well namely the London and Birmingham upwards of 8 per cent., Liverpool & Birmingham 13 per cent., Liverpool & Manchester 10 per cent.

The business of our Joint Stock Banks has been exceedingly ill conducted and they have made enormous bad debts. They have lent out far too much money to the Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers, have been the occasion of too many cotton mills being built and in fact have made it a very poor trade. The woollen, linen and hardware and crockery trades are all suffering, the iron trade doing better than any others, tho' prices have fallen. I constantly impress upon people that they can only look for a permanent improvement in trade by adopting Free Trade measures. You have rightly stated how largely the exports of the U. S. were paid for by your Bank and State Stocks. That sort of business is, I take it, pretty much at an end, and I tell the people they may have a great trade with you, upon one condition and one condition only that they will take your corn, flour, maise, beef, pork, lumber, in short any thing that you chuse to offer, and that we chuse to take.

In connection with this subject, I certainly do not look with any satisfaction upon the recent Ministerial Appointments. At the same time I do hope that Sir Robert Peel will be so pressed by the Tories among the merchants and manufacturers, (very many of whom are Free Traders and assure Mr. Peel will do for us, what the late Ministers could not do,) that he will be obliged to give way and compel his party to relax the System. The people out of doors

understand this question far better than they ever did before, and will never rest till much good is accomplished. One would like to see in our day, the good that sound commercial principles would confer upon mankind.

The duty on wheat will to-morrow fall to 2/8 per quarter for one week, the week following it will be the same or, as most people expect, and I strongly hope, it will be 1/.; the third week, I do not know, but after this month the duty will rise rapidly on account of the quantity of new wheat which will be brought to market, much of which is very indifferent in quality and by selling it at a low price will lower the averages and raise the duty. I am fearful the flour expected from America will arrive too late to come in at the low duty. This system is perfectly iniquitous.

I shall go to London next week, as the House will sit for a few days. Sir Robert Peel will want a Vote of Credit (which he will get) to carry him on till spring, but we are entitled to ask him how he proposes to pay the interest, and whether by imposing new taxes or modifying our commercial system. We shall say the money would have been raised upon our plan, by a fixed duty of 8/ per quarter on wheat and by reducing the duty on foreign sugar and coffee and altering the timber and other duties. I never liked the plan of raising the duty on Canada timber, which is in effect laying a new tax, but I would reduce the duty on Baltic and other foreign timber to any extent. Very truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

About a million of quarters of wheat, including flour are ready to be taken out of bond when the owners think the duty is at the lowest.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 3 November, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR, — I send you copy of an order issued by our Treasury to admit *rough* rice, or paddy from the U. S. at a nominal duty. The duty heretofore charged on American *rough* rice, was I believe 2/6 per bushel or 20/ per quarter, but the same article from West Africa admitted as British produce appears to have been charged a nominal duty, and the American Minister, I perceive having remonstrated, our Government has given way. I wish the low duty may be permanent. The American Chamber of Commerce of this place has just sent a Memorial to Sir Robert Peel, stating the very unfair manner in which the Corn Laws operate as it respects our trade with the U. S. It appears by the *Gazette* just published that in the month ending 10 October there were entered at our various custom

houses 2,010,263 quarters foreign wheat, 505,000 cwt. foreign flour. By far the greatest part of this came out at the duty of 1/ per quarter, and almost the whole of it was the produce of the Continent of Europe, scarcely a particle of it from the U. S. because you could not possibly be aware that we should have a low duty, till you were also informed that a prohibitory duty had again taken place. Now I do think your Government would have a very fair right to remonstrate upon this matter — if done at all, it should be done at once. Parliament will probably meet the end of January, previously to which time Sir Robert Peel and the Cabinet will have concluded what alteration to make in the Corn Laws. I am sure a remonstrance would do great good. Let there be no mention of the suggestion coming from me. I am favored by the last Steamer with your letters 12th to 15th Oct. I have found good information of the quantity of flour which you exported, and wheat imported in the *American Almanac* of 1840, pages 146 and 147. We will set the matter at rest the first opportunity, but if Peel and Stanley say you are an importing country, they have the less to dread from opening the ports to your productions. *I know well* that you have never yet undertaken to cultivate any particular article, but you have yielded it in abundance and to an extent that has surprized every one. I hear large orders are gone out to Egypt and the Mediterranean for wheat, beans, etc., by parties who anticipate low duty. The wheat duty is now 24/8. Markets steady and rather on the advance. General sales of American cotton 5 3/8 and 5 7/8. Stock of American 345,000 bales, of all sorts 491,000; last year, American 374,000, all sorts 461,000. More Bombay cotton is now in use, the quality having improved and when trade is bad (and it is very bad at present without prospect of improvement) the spinners run after cheap qualities. The only consolation one has, regarding the depression of our trade is that there is only one way out of it, which is by means of Free Trade. I send you an able speech of Mr. Cobden's to his constituents. I have sent Mr. Jones Loyd your two letters signed Investigator, but have not yet received his acknowledgment of them. I cannot do less than say I greatly admire the high tone in which they are written, tho' your disclosures of the state of your banking are deplorable indeed. I am sure it will be attended with the best possible effects in your country, if there should be no longer any sale in Europe (and I hope there is not), for your State or Bank Stocks. Your resources are ample, whilst in the case of borrowed money, it comes too lightly to be well looked after in the expenditure. There will be heavy losses on some of the cotton which has been long held over in this market. I hear some cotton here will lose £6 and £8 per bale. We are glad the McLeod affair is settled.

Our people did right in sending Grogan back. I have hopes about the boundary. Sometimes it is fortunate to have a *new* Ministry to negotiate with. Try what you can do with ours about Corn Laws. Yours truly,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 18 November, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have received your favor of 30 Ulto. with some excellent articles by Investigator. I have shewn them to a few friends, but have some difficulty in getting them before the public. The loss of the holders of U. S. Bank Shares and the depreciation in State Stocks, will probably be the best instructors to the monied men of this country. How far your Government Stocks may sell, seeing the Congress can lay taxes, which the State Governments cannot or will not do, I cannot say, but I should think there must be an end of all sales, except of that stock to which it is considered the general Government is pledged. Every week I find additional instances of distress arising from the total loss of property in U. S. Bank Shares belonging to ladies and other retired persons. The last number of Investigator, I think No. 12, appears to me almost superior to any of the previous numbers, tho' they are all excellent. I am glad you were pleased with what I said on a late occasion in the House of Commons. If I can lay my hands upon a Wolverhampton paper, I will send it to you, as it contains a somewhat corrected report of my argument with some hint from the Editor that I ought to talk oftener.

We are still in the dark as to what Sir Robert Peel will do as to the Corn Laws and other commercial restrictions. I am quite sure he will alter the Sliding Scale, and it is some indication of a change that the[re] was a public dinner some days ago of the Members of Parliament returned by the County of Salop, they were eleven in number all Tories, but not one of them said a word upon the Corn Laws, not even Lord Darlington [1] one of their warmest advocates in the House. I presume they have a secret understanding that there is to be a change. I wish your Government would remonstrate in the way I pointed out, against the Sliding Scale. You have a fair right to do so, and it would strengthen Sir Robert Peel against his own party.

Every trade in this country continues as bad as possible — the cotton trade at least as bad as any other. Stock of American cotton

[1] William Harry Vane (1766–1842).

last week 318,000, all sorts 471,000. Prices have fallen ¼d since the last packet, the general sales of American 5¼ and 5¾, at these prices the loss will be very heavy, and quite enormous upon cottons which some great houses are said to have held long on hand. India cottons are certainly getting more into use, the sales here last week were 4000 bales of which all but 500 were to consumers. Mr. Jones Loyd in returning your printed letter says "the time I trust will come when the monetary and banking affairs of the U. S. will assume a more reputable character; their present condition is indeed disgraceful." I do not think they will mend till there is an end of selling stocks in Europe. When the money is raised at home, the expenditure will be better looked after. What you have written about the Philadelphia Banks is quite decisive to my mind. They must break and give way to a better system, the sooner the better. I am glad to hear New York is profiting by her adherence to specie payments and earning business which would otherwise have gone farther South. I have lately too had pleasure in seeing some American gentlemen who are strongly against a National Bank and declare they can carry on their business without reliance on Banks. With great regard, Yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 3 December, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR, — One of the papers which I send you, contains an Address from some Birmingham people urging an extension of the currency as a means of extending trade and removing distress. If these people knew what was going on in the States, they would have more just notions upon the subject. I am pleased to say however that all our newspapers have written against these wrong-headed notions. I am greatly obliged to you for your letter of 13 November, and newspapers containing some excellent articles upon Banking and Currency. I anticipate a very early explosion of the Banks in Philadelphia and Maryland. So far as I can judge, the people here have given up the purchase of American securities; otherwise to the extent of any influence that I might have, I should certainly dissuade them from embarking either as a speculation of their own, or as doing any service to the U. S. It is time your countrymen should look soberly about them, and consider what is to be the end of these things.

I am still of course ignorant of what Sir Robert Peel will do, upon the Corn Laws. I cannot doubt he will do something, perhaps more than is expected, and in thanking you for the notice you have taken

of a very indifferent copy of a Speech of mine, I am glad that I pointed out to Peel the working of these Laws towards the U. S. You are quite right in urging upon the attention of your people and your Government the importance of remonstrating with our Ministers about the Exclusion of your corn, flour, and timber. In stating that Sir Robert Peel *may* do more than his party expect, I have regard to the extremely depressed state of our manufactures and upon the necessity of concessions in order to keep his Party in power. I wish I could suggest higher motives of action. Our trade is extremely depressed, and I am of opinion that we are permanently losing our export of woollens and many other articles. These things must, one would think, make some impression on the rational part of the Government. I presume the information of the export of flour, which I derived from the *American Almanac*, may be relied upon as correct. A Free Trade or Anti-Monopoly Association is to be formed here next week, of which I am to be Chairman, and I think good may be done by a monthly report of the effect of monopoly as shewn in this great market for sugar, coffee, corn and timber. However you will say, as I do, all this is too late, and so, I fear it will be found. I rather think we shall have but little difficulty with Ireland. The cry of repeal of the Union is quite absurd and all men of influence in the country treat it with ridicule. In cotton there is no change since the last packet, but I still observe a good deal of East India getting into consumption. We have an abundant stock of cotton and no doubt your crop will furnish an adequate supply. There will be very heavy losses on some cotton which has been long kept on hand. McCulloch [1] is not reckoned so sound in his Free Trade notions as he was some years ago. His proposal to pay a bounty upon the export of British corn is quite ridiculous. Some parties have proposed emigration upon a large scale. Any thing rather than let the corn into the country and make the people comfortable at home. Yours very sincerely,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 3 January, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR, — The two last Packets have brought me very acceptable letters from you with the papers of Investigator and accounts of your exports of flour, etc. — all of which I am very thankful for, and shall make such use of, as I am enabled to do. There is much of what I like in the Message of your President, and

[1] John Ramsay McCulloch (1789–1864).

when he was writing, most properly, in recommendation of your non-paying Banks going into liquidation, I could almost imagine you were at his elbow. The remarks on the Tariff are probably as liberal as it was prudent to give expression to. There is an air of great candour about the President, and I am glad on every occasion to express my respect for his character. You see Lord Ashburton [1] has accepted the post of Minister Extraordinary to the U. S. but will probably not sail till the spring is somewhat advanced. He is upwards of seventy years of age, and some of the newspapers are somewhat free in their criticisms upon his appointment. I dare say you recollect his pamphlet on the Orders in Council, which I reprinted in New York upwards of thirty years ago. It was replete with Free Trade opinion, and so were his speeches in the House of Commons, but he has taken a peerage from the Tories, and has become a great buyer of land (I am told his notion is to buy at low prices, where titles are doubtful) and so he is now a great supporter of Corn Laws and protective duties. I never knew a Baring that possessed any feeling for the people or for mankind — this I say privately.

I have sent you several newspapers, some of them provincial papers which are very well written and honestly conducted, and favorable to Free Trade. There is nothing new in our prospects. Parliament is to meet the 3rd February, and then Sir Robert Peel will propose his commercial changes. No doubt he will propose *some* alteration in the Corn Laws, and probably in other articles but certainly not to the extent that I should like. Probably something will depend on the state of trade, and it is generally believed there will be some slight improvement this month, for reasons however which are not very forcible. For instance it is said the Bank of England having more bullion will be more liberal in its discounts, etc., but I have no reliance on anything but Free Trade. Our wheat duty has again advanced, and it is very doubtful whether the duty will be so low in the spring as to admit of imports. There appears to be a considerable accumulation of flour at New York, and most happy should I be, if we were receiving it at a low duty. The consumption of cotton last year (in bales) appears to have fallen off only about 5 per cent but the trade has been most disastrous to the spinners and manufacturers, most of whom have been I suspect without profits for the last three years. I hear the import of East India cotton into Liverpool and London in this and the next months will not be less than 58,000 bales. The London and Liverpool House of B. are said to have reduced their stock of cotton to about

[1] Alexander Baring (1774–1848).

40,000 bales. I am well content to have retired from business, but my Brother is doing a safe business because he does it upon a scale of moderate interest. With great regard, Yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 27 Jan'y, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR, — The Second Report of Banks of Issue, I have great pleasure in sending you by a sailing vessel, the *Germany*, and I hope you will safely receive it.

As the meeting of Parliament draws near, we are more and more anxious to know what Sir Robert Peel will do. We shall put forth all our strength, but power at present rests with our opponents. Something Peel will propose in the way of relaxation, but he will not dare boldly to attack the fortress of Monopoly. With great regard, Yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 3 February, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have arrived here for the Session which commences to-day, and I am sorry I have only time to thank you for your very interesting communication by the last Packet. I have preserved most of the Letters of Investigator, which are written in so bold a stile, and in so high minded a spirit that I very greatly regret they are not to be continued. It is little to the credit of your countrymen that you have not more supporters, but the Americans will discover their error, when suffering under the embarrassments and losses resulting from a bad system of banking and the adoption of the High Tariff policy. Whatever you publish, I should wish to be sent to me *not by the Steamers* — if as a pamphlet let me have half a dozen copies and pray let me pay for them.

Sir Robert Peel has kept his policy very secret. I hear however that he will propose a considerable change in the Sliding Scale and an alteration of the sugar, timber and other duties. The only indication that has occurred is the resignation of the Duke of Buckingham,[1] of his seat in the Cabinet and the office of Lord Privy Seal. The Ministerial papers say the Duke differed with Peel upon the *figures* of the new Sliding Scale. I have no confidence in the consistency of either of these men and the Duke's resignation may be

[1] Richard Plantagenet Temple Nugent Brydges Chandos Grenville (1797–1861).

to throw dust in the eyes of the community. Sir Robert Peel will be pressed to bring his measures forward early, indeed it is his best policy to do so. If we have various divisions on the corn question, I intend to vote 1st for total repeal, 2nd, low fixed duty, after which no doubt we must take what Peel and his majority chuse to give us. Something we must gain, and thank God there is great light abroad upon Free Trade subjects so that the movement cannot stop. With great regard, Yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 2 March, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have again to thank you for letters. The last is dated the 1st Feb'y and informs me of the stoppage of Philadelphia Banks which upon your authority I had long been prepared for. Mr. Wm. Brown called upon me two or three days before I received your letter and I told him I was prepared to hear of the failure of all the banks in Philadelphia and Baltimore. I still hear of more instances of losses by worthy people by holding Bank Stock, etc. — a dissenting minister has been with me, whose wife had £8000 in Mr. Biddle's bank bought at £28. I have seen a gentleman who loses £22,000. A friend of mine in December told me his father had shares in the Girard Bank and asked me what he should do with them. I told him to send them out by the first packet and get any thing he could for them as the Bank would certainly fail. He delayed and only sent them out in February.

I fear you will think I *bore* you by the newspapers I address to you. I do not expect however that you will read what I am unfortunately doomed to listen to, especially the talk of our Agricultural party. It is a new thing however to get 90 Members (and if it had not been for absentees we should have had upwards of 100) to vote for a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, and the word *now* was a stumbling block to many people. I stated the case of America as well as I could. Sir Robert Peel has not yet got leave to bring in his Bill, but I suppose it will pass pretty much as already laid before the public. Many people say he has gone as far in his New Scale as he could command the support of his Party. I detest the Measure which I hope will not last very long. I am anxious for the rest of Peel's measures those which affect other commodities than grain for I hope he is going largely to alter the sugar, coffee and timber duties. All this however is quite uncertain. I have sent you, by sailing vessel, a few parliamentary papers on the corn trade and am pleased that one of them states the flour exports of the U. S.

My Brother has refused the drafts of one of his correspondents who writes largely about the advance which is to take place in cotton here, making it a pretext to overdraw largely. I really do not think the nett commission upon cotton justifies a shipper in expecting an advance beyond a fair proportion of what the sale is likely to produce, and in the wretched state of our trade there is no ground for calculating on higher prices. Our Government intends to allow American wheat to go free into Canada, but to tax flour 2/ per bbl.

I am desirous of learning what the Congress will do about the Tariff. According to Peel's New Scale the duty on wheat to-day would be 12/ per quarter, the present duty 26/8 per quarter. This will never do tho it is a reduction. Yours truly,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 2 April, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR, — I return to-morrow to London to resume my duties. I hope that you will have received the proposed Tariff which I sent you by a sailing vessel last month. There will be some modifications in it, but in the main I think it will be carried. The Agricultural Party are in arms against the removal of the prohibition to import sheep and cattle, as they say great numbers will arrive from Holstein and the Continental ports, into ports on the east coast of our Island. I hope it may be so, and Sir Robert Peel shall have my vote, wherever he proposes the removal of prohibitions and of protective duties. I fear the reduction on foreign timber will scarcely let in your staves of which we had formerly a large supply. Eventually, I think you will supply us with a great quantity of fish and sperm oil.

Your country and mine are playing a very different game as to tariffs. I perceive your legislators and your people are very much of one opinion as to raising duties and extending protections, whilst here the Tory prime Minister is boasting that he intends to revive trade, by lowering Import Duties and removing prohibitions. Your course may be in some measure necessary from the deficiency in your revenue. I have never in my experience, heard such complaints of the state of trade, and every one engaged in commerce or manufactures appears to be out of spirits. You have been right in all you have told me about your Southern Banks and Stocks and I suspect a good deal of mischief has yet to occur, before you are in course of improvement. Money in London is abundant at 3¾ and 4 per cent. I never knew cotton so low before and am inclined to

think it cannot go lower. Hoping soon to hear from you, I remain, My dear Sir, Very truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 18 April, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am disappointed that we have not heard of the arrival of the steamer of the 2nd. In Parliament we have passed Resolutions on which a Bill will be brought in to admit foreign productions into the British Possessions in America and the Mauritius at a low rate of duty. This is the measure (tho' not exactly the same) that was brought in by Mr. Labouchere [1] last year, but which he did not succeed in passing.

The Corn Importation Bill is to be read a first time in the House of Lords to-day. There will be a discussion about it, but being a money bill they cannot alter it, without throwing it out, so I expect it will pass in the course of a few days. The Income Tax is still under discussion in the House of Commons, but will undoubtedly pass, and when that has become a matter of certainty, we shall proceed with the tariff. I have sent you the first tariff and the revised one, but being by sailing vessels they may not reach you very early. Sir Robert Peel declares his determination to pass the tariff, as a good deal of opposition is rising up against it on the part of the Agriculturalists and Cattle Feeders, the latter foresee a considerable importation of cattle from Holstein and some parts of the Continent. Sir Robert Peel will have the support of the Free Trade Party in the House of Commons to enable him to carry his tariff, which I think with all its defects is a step in the right direction. It will certainly increase our trade in a variety of articles with the U. S. and our continental neighbours, and I consider it as dealing a blow at monopoly which will be followed up with much success hereafter. I am therefore not without much satisfaction at this commencement of Free Trade measures by a Tory Ministry.

The corn merchants I hear do not intend to pay duty on their wheat upon the passing of the Bill. The new duty would be 13/ per quarter but the merchants say the markets are rising and the duty will be considerably lower during the summer. The duty on oats would be 8/., barley and Indian corn 9/ per quarter. There is no improvement in trade, but there have been considerable purchases of cotton on speculation, merely because money is very plentiful $3\frac{3}{4}$ to 4 per cent. and it is thought cotton will pay for keeping. Yours always,

THO. THORNELY.

[1] Henry Labouchere (1798–1869).

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 3 May, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have not had the pleasure to hear from you for some time. The only real progress that we have made in legislation is that the Corn Importation Bill has passed into a law. The duty payable this week is wheat 13/ per quarter, flour proportion the same as before, barley and Indian corn 10/., oats 8/., rye 9/6, beans and peas 10/6 per quarter. Canada wheat and flour come in at the lowest duty 1/. so that all that are in bond in the country say 12,000 quarters of wheat and 80,000 barrels of flour will at once be taken out of bond, but with respect to foreign wheat of which the stock is 650,000 quarters and flour 160,000 barrels, I believe very little duty will be paid at present, for the holders or many of them, are sanguine that prices will rise and the duty be considerably lower before the harvest. This however is always uncertain. The weather has this spring been unusually dry; we have not had a shower for several weeks, the winds have been easterly and rather cold, and on the whole I should think the season not unfavorable. The trade in our manufacturing districts continues deplorably bad which no doubt materially diminishes the consumption, especially of the better sorts of food. I hope you will have received a copy of the Tariff which I sent you. We have not yet undertaken the discussion of the tariff, as Sir Robert Peel wants to make sure of the Income Tax, before he proceeds with the Tariff but we last night, in committee, got through about half of the Income Tax Bill, and the rest will be so little opposed that I think the Tariff must be proceeded with very shortly. I hope some good will result from the tariff; at all events it is breaking ground in favor of the abolition of prohibitory duties, and it will be the fault of the people if more is not gained hereafter. The Income Tax Bill taxes the income from funds held by foreigners. I was one of forty who voted last night to exempt foreigners, but Peel had a very large majority, many Liberals voting with him, against us.

I hear no very favorable intelligence from the States. Some of the Philadelphia Banks appear to have resumed specie payments, but Maryland and the South appear to be lamentably involved. The lowering of interest by the Bank of England and the want of employment for capital has caused so great an abundance of money that I believe it is to be had upon very low terms; I should think 2½ to 3½ per cent. With very best wishes believe me, Dear Sir, Truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 22 Oct., 1842.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have to thank you for your obliging letter of the 28 ulto. I do not attach very great importance to Sir Rob. Peel's declaration about the high price of grain, etc., in the States. Mr. Cobden I think did take an opportunity of stating in the House of Commons that your high prices of flour were owing to the expansion of your currency; at least I recollect our agreeing upon that point. I wanted to get a parliamentary return of all flour, grain and provisions exported from the U. S. and the prices, in a series of years. It was too late in the Session to get it, and indeed the Board of Trade said they had not the materials to furnish it, but in the forthcoming volume of "Tables of Revenue, Population and Commerce" they have promised to give all the returns which they possess. Such a return would shew that in every year, you have largely exported flour and provisions, and this could not have been the case, if you had not furnished the articles at lower prices than other countries. Upon the few occasions when you were importers of wheat, not only was your currency in excess, but I think you were so occupied in investing in internal improvements and railways the money you had borrowed in Europe that you had to a certain extent, neglected the more humble occupation of tilling the earth. The misrepresentation of Sir Rob. Peel probably served his temporary purpose. There will be a great pressure upon Sir Rob. Peel, both in and out of Parliament, to adopt Free Trade measures, and I feel confident he must do something in the way of concession, but Peel is not a *great* man, nor a statesman to my mind. I think perhaps rather better of him, than does an excellent Free Trade Member of our House from whom I have a letter this morning. He says: "I expect nothing from Peel's disposition, tho' perhaps his ambition still to lead a majority in the House of Commons, or to retain whatever public esteem he now enjoys in the country may induce him to concede a little to public good; but he has no great or generous views with regard to his country or to mankind and if he had he lacks the spirit to enforce them. A prudent man of business is a good character for any man no doubt, but something more is required to lead and regulate a free and progressive people." The trade of our country is bad in every direction and can only be permanently improved by adopting Free Trade measures. Our harvest is turning out worse than had been expected and any fall in prices is owing to the damp state of the corn and the general badness of the quality. Our potatoes are turning out very ill, owing to the very heavy rains which have inundated the country. These then

are materials for Free Trade agitation, and with the lights that are abroad, I trust we shall accomplish something now, and more hereafter.

The duty on wheat is 22/8. Flour in bond is worth 28/ per bbl. duty paid 38/ and 39/. per bbl. but no one now pays duty as it is almost certain we shall want supplies which must come in, at some lower rate. In cotton, I believe prices have not varied for nearly two months. They are sufficiently low to prevent much fall and the stock is too large and the trade too much depressed to admit of any material advance. We perhaps feel less anxiety than we did, about McLeod.[1] I wish the borderers could be restrained. Yours very truly,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 31 December, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR, — I arrived safely at home in eighteen days. The weather was stormy but the wind being favorable, we did tolerably well.

I am delighted that I have made this visit to the States. I have seen much that has gratified me, but I have been amazed at the extent of the bankruptcies, losses and delinquencies that have been mentioned to me in New York and Philadelphia. I suppose I must admit that the Free Trade Party in America is on the decline, tho' the result of the New York elections certainly told a different tale, and whilst I was in New York, I thought I could perceive a change in public opinion, for some of my Whig friends would not vote at all, and several that I saw, said they had voted Locofoco for the first time.

Here some of my friends tell me Free Trade has made greater progress whilst I have been away, than in all time previously. This is cheering. The Anti Corn Law League which go for Free Trade generally and for a *total* repeal of the Corn Laws have stated that they want £50,000 to pay for lecturers, printing, etc. Most of this sum is raised, and the rest will be, and people say, at all events, the Sliding Scale must go, as it has this year disappointed every one, and ruined the importers. The Landlords at their public meetings exhort the farmers not to rely on corn laws, so much as upon improvements in agriculture, and it is a fact that in many districts,

[1] Alexander McLeod, who boasted that he had been of the party to destroy the steamer *Caroline* in 1837, had been arrested and indicted for murder in 1841, when visiting the United States, in connection with the *Caroline* affair. After much legal complication he was released.

the draining and improving of land is going on, in a way it never was before. I am not sanguine as to what Sir Robert Peel may do, but I am certain that the public opinion has rapidly advanced on the side of Free Trade, and I trust we cannot stand long just where we are.

A friend of mine in London writes to me that he is disposed to buy some Indiana stock. I have recommended him to do nothing of the sort, as I am certain the principal and interest will never be paid. I understand there has been a decided improvement in the trade of this country, and the low price of provisions has added greatly to the comfort of the laboring classes. If we could *all* get all the productions of the world at their natural price, what a happy world this would be.

Some of our newspaper editors have been rather jocose upon the candour of your President in stating that he could not borrow any money in Europe whilst the old Governments, tho' overwhelmed with debt, can borrow at a low rate.

I do not at present recollect any publication that it would interest you for me to send. The Anti Corn Law are distributing tracts all over the country in favor of a total repeal of the Corn Laws, and the friends of a fixed duty who would formerly have been glad of 8/ and 10/ per quarter, now say that they would not accept a higher duty than 4/ and 5/.

I cannot tell you how much pleasure I derived from seeing you and from conversations with you in Boston. I am writing to Mr. Biddle and am greatly obliged to you for procuring me the acquaintance of so valuable a man. How much I missed, by the death of Dr. Channing [1] and Condy Raguet.[2]

Pray favor me with a continuance of your correspondence. Any thing about Free Trade interests me greatly. Very truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 3 March, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, — I owe you many thanks for your letter dated the 1 February which contains a great deal of information that is interesting to me. Besides information of your State Stocks and monetary concerns, I should like to know the state and prospects of your manufacturing stock, the popularity of the tariff and prospect of its continuance, modification or repeal. Here there appears to be a great abundance of money and I believe the Bank of Eng-

[1] Channing died October 2, 1842.

[2] (1784–1842).

land has just put out a notice that they will discount long paper at the rate of 3 per cent per annum. With all this abundance, I do not hear that there is any disposition to go into American stocks. Indeed a gentleman who came to me the other day about some Ohio stock which he has held a good while, and to whom I mentioned Massachusetts stock as a safe investment, said at once, that when he once got his money out of American stocks, he would never put it in again.

My colleague will probably not bring forward his Corn Law motion till about the 1 May. Lord Robert Grosvenor [1] M. P. (son of the Marquis of Westminster) has sent a donation to the Anti Corn Law League but states in his letter (which is published,) that he does not entirely agree with them but that the Sliding Scale is doing great mischief in the country, and that no duty above 5/. per quarter would now be acceptable. The opinion of those who advocate a fixed duty, I find to be pretty unanimous that 5/. should be the very highest rate.

I suppose our Ministers intend to bring in a Bill to charge 3/ stlg. per quarter on American wheat going into Canada, the said wheat and the flour made from it, being to be always admitted into this country at a nominal duty say 1/. per quarter. I don't know what our landed interest gentry may say to this, for as far as it goes it repeals the Sliding Scale and substitutes a low fixed duty. One is never certain of measures of this sort being carried thro'.

I shall feel great interest in the report which you inform me you propose to publish in April and shall be much obliged if you will send me two or three copies to Liverpool (but not thro' the Post Office) or inform me where I can get them. Sir Robert Peel has thus far made no announcement of intended commercial changes. We think the sugar duties (which you are aware are a yearly grant) must be modified either this year or next. The rest will probably depend on the strength of public opinion, which I am certain has become of late, far more on the side of Free Trade than it ever was before. You are so obliging as to pay me a compliment on something that I have said in public. I am sorry to acknowledge I am wanting in *confidence* or I should speak more than I do, in the House. I envy the Irish Members, for they can all speak, whether to the purpose or not. Hoping to hear from you, as you have leisure, I remain Most truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

The income tax 7d in the pound, estimated by Peel to produce £3.700.000, it is said will raise considerably more than six millions.

[1] (1801–1893) later Lord Ebury.

Our financial quarter and year, end the 5th April, directly after which Sir Robert will tell us what he will do.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 3 April, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, — Many thanks for your valuable letter of 1 March. Your remarks on the price of cotton are important. I presume it would have been lower even than it is at Liverpool, if the price had depended on the state of trade, for there is nothing very flourishing in that respect, but money is so very abundant, that people who have a surplus think that it must come out right in the end, if invested in cotton at these prices. The cheapness of money I apprehend is confined to bills and securities easily convertible; I presume on mortgage 4 per cent may be had, and a person told me the other day he had given 5 per cent. on mortgage upon small houses. I do not know much of what is going on among the merchants. Browns I think are rich and they have for a good while past sold all their cotton on arrival. This is very judicious, it brings accounts speedily to a close, and in fact brings a better result to the owners and is more satisfactory to them. The other great B (I mention *privately*, but have no doubt of the fact) have held over a very heavy stock of cotton, so everybody says, and the loss somewhere must be *enormous*.

I begin to fear that we shall not get much more Free Trade this year. Lord Stanley,[1] after Easter is to bring in a Bill to charge 3/ per quarter duty on your wheat going into Canada, which wheat, when ground into flour, *not otherwise*, is to be admitted here, either free, or at a nominal low *fixed* duty say 1/. This is but little change from the present law, but it will alarm our agricultural party, who are getting less and less favorable to Sir Robert Peel, only they cannot do without him as their leader. I presume a good many of your cattle and pigs will walk over into Canada and get slaughtered and brought in here at a very low duty. Perhaps some of our cheap goods may be taken back in exchange. I don't see how this is to be helped, unless your people are very much more virtuous than ours. We have a Commission sitting to investigate the frauds on the admission of silk goods into London. These have occurred to such an extent, that I have the best reason to believe that between smuggling and paying too little duty, the silks from the Continent brought into this country have not paid more than half the duty they are legally liable to. *The low prices of grain and provisions* check the progress of improved legislation on these articles and the

[1] Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley (1799–1869), later Earl of Derby.

next thing that will happen will be agricultural distress. The principles of Free Trade however are daily making more and more progress, and the leaven is at work from which I expect great results. I have sent you a newspaper with an account of an Anti-Corn Law meeting at Drury Lane Theatre which I think will interest you, and also to-day's *Chronicle* with Mr. Everett's Answer to the Memorialists upon State Stocks. Your respected Diplomatist has rather more confidence in them than I have. I do not expect Sir Robert Peel will make any alteration in the Corn Laws this year, or till prices are higher. I shall be anxious to see any thing farther that you may publish. With great regard, Yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 18 April, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, — I came down for a few days, (our Easter holydays) and was truly glad to receive your letter of 28 March and 1 April. Your printed remarks upon the cotton market are very important. I am told prices here are very steady, the stock enormous, but money is extremely abundant and prices are so moderate that the spinners who can afford it, stock themselves largely, and a fall of $\frac{1}{8}$ brings speculators into the market who buy upon the chances of what may happen. At these prices, American cotton must drive East India out of use. The cotton trade with us, is no doubt improved, and the low price of provisions is very favorable to our working people. Mr. Villiers' Motion on the Corn Laws, I expect will come on the 9 May and we shall have other motions bearing upon Free Trade, but the result depends upon Sir Robert Peel. It is unfavorable to any movement on the Corn Laws that grain and provisions are now so cheap, that there is no pressure as to price. Still the principle of Free Exchange is what we want, and we never shall have a sound and steady trade to the extent we are entitled to, until that great principle is adopted. This packet I understand takes out a good many sovereigns. I shall be curious to see what is the result in the States of so unusual an accumulation of specie. I sincerely hope there will be a large circulation of it in the West and that it will throw out much of your paper circulation. Your Eastern capitalists must have lost very largely by your credits at the South and by the depreciation of paper. I don't see how you are to get over the long credit system. I am told that our people are giving very long credit in Brazil and the losses in that trade have been very serious. I believe also I have heard that even at Moscow, our credits are become very long indeed. The Bank,

you will observe holds a larger stock of specie than it has had for some years, and there is a very large amount in circulation and all the Banks, but especially the Bank of England, are glad to pay out sovereigns. You may thus draw away, but I still think you had better have taken some of our cheap goods. I wish I could have made out any thing interesting to write to you. I offer as my apology that I was unwilling to let the packet go away without a line. With great regard, Yours truly,

THO. THORNELY.

My nephew was about leaving New Orleans and going up the River at our last dates.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 19 June, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, — I was favored with your letter of 31 May. The day after I received it, a question was put in the House of Commons by a Member (who was formerly a cotton manufacturer) to the President of the Board of Trade about 400 bales of American cotton goods, now lying here in bond. When the answer (such as it was) had been made, I read an extract from your letter. I send you the newspaper and would be much obliged to you to say whether I was correct in the quantity of bales which I stated to have been exported. I could not be certain that I read correctly your figures. I have sent you one or two papers that may interest you. Our division on Lord John Russell's Motion was a bad one and does not shew our strength. Many of our people were unavoidably or accidentally absent. Mr. Cobden was unwell and obliged to go away. This Parliament is a very bad one; it is out of doors that Free Trade principles are spreading, and if we had the good luck to have a dissolution within the next twelve months, I am confident we should have a very much better House of Commons. I am not surprized that you like Lord Howick's[1] speeches, he is a most able man, and very sound and firm in his Free Trade notions. His temper is none of the best, but when he is right, as is generally the case, nothing on earth can turn him. We are to have a debate on the sugar duties this week, and Sir Robert has given notice he will not remove, for another year the prohibitory duty on foreign sugars. This is abominable for British sugars are at least 16/. per cwt. dearer than foreign sugars in bond. I am disappointed in Sir Robert Peel's movements this year, he appears to have yielded to the Agricultural and Monopolist Party *for the present*. The cotton trade is doing better than

[1] Charles Grey (1764–1845).

any other, indeed I entertain but a poor opinion of the condition of the other trades of the country. There has been a very heavy failure in the iron trade, the House of Harford, Davis & Co., of Bristol, their works in Glamorganshire. It is said they owe £400,000 at least, and will pay almost nothing. I hear a large contract has been made for bar iron delivered at Bristol at £4.15/. per ton. I should only mislead you, if I was to give you any estimate of the consumption of cotton next year, and Mr. Cobden knows nothing of it. He has done great good by his addresses to the farmers in the agricultural districts. Nor have I any information whether the holders of American stocks will send them out for sale, upon the recent advance. I expect my nephew here this evening who is to pay me a short visit, and we shall have much pleasure in talking over the later accounts which he will bring me, of you and other friends. He will bring me some copies of Mr. Raguet's Work on Free Trade, one of which I shall place in the Library of the House of Commons. I dined yesterday in company with General Duff Greene.[1] I remember hearing a year ago that he had had an interview with Sir Robert Peel about the necessity of a commercial treaty and of mutual concessions in the way of duties. He then returned to the States and is here again, as I am told, in the confidence of the President and Mr. Webster. What do you say of the weight I am to attach to all this? I wish we could all act like men of sense and reduce our tariffs to revenue rates and disregard the prohibitions and follies of other countries. When the Session is over I purpose going up the Rhine to Switzerland with my sister and two nieces. Very truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

Memorandum, Rec'd 3 July. Answered in the matter of cotton goods to Mr. Thornely 30 July and also about Duff Greene no credit due to him or to anything he has to say about treaties.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 3 November, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, — I returned home about a fortnight ago, having made a tour upon the Continent of about three months. I cannot say that I learned much of the state of the countries we passed through; but I did witness *a little* smuggling of tobacco into France, an indication, I doubt not, that it is done every day, so as in the course of the year to furnish a considerable proportion of the consumption of the country. The constant searching of luggage

[1] (1780?–1875).

(though we had a servant who kept us almost clear of it) as you pass the borders, shews that the Governments set up obstructions against the interests of the people. I had my sister and two nieces to take care of; we crossed to Antwerp, then to Cologne, from whence we explored the Rhine; we entered Switzerland by Schaffhausen, from whence we visited all that is interesting in that admirable country. We then crossed the Alps by the St. Gothard, went to Como and Milan; recrossed by the Simplon, visited Lausanne, staid some time at Geneva and then to Paris and home. We had a most interesting tour and not a single thing occurred, to mar our pleasure. I recollected you had informed me your son was in Italy. If we had gone farther, as to Leghorn for instance, I should have hoped for the pleasure of seeing him. We saw beautiful crops of Indian corn and other articles of food and I in my admiration of them, thought how delighted I should be, when these things should be freely admitted in my country.

There appears to have been a considerable improvement in trade in this country, partly owing to increased orders from the U. S., but cotton, which was perhaps too low, and which was run up by speculators too high and too fast, has been receding in price for the last three or four weeks and I understand the market to be now very dull, but you will have better information from others than I can give you. Your currency in the States appears to be all right, at least chiefly so, with a great abundance of specie and a general admission that things are in a flourishing state. I fear all this is against a revision of your tariff, which would have been more likely to be accomplished, if you had felt a continued pressure.

I do think that in this country, sound principles are gaining ground and a conviction that the Corn Laws must be changed and that duties must be for revenue and not for protection. Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright have done incalculable good by attending meetings in the agricultural districts and appealing to the farmers whether the Corn Laws and the Sliding Scale have made theirs a profitable pursuit. Sir Robert Peel too, at two farmer's dinners, has exhorted the farmers to drain their lands and improve their cultivation and has offered to give leases to his tenants. The Free Traders are very proud of the result of the City of London election, where Mr. Thomas Baring [1] (nephew of Lord Ashburton and a partner in the House,) the very best man his party could have put forward, was beaten by Mr. Pattison,[2] an out and out Free Trader. My friend Mr. Warburton [3] is a candidate for Kendal and I expect will be elected next

[1] (1799–1873).
[2] James Pattison.
[3] Henry Warburton (1784?–1858).

week. The Anti-Corn Law Association has removed to London. They have taken a house in a conspicuous situation in Fleet Street and have established a weekly paper called the *League*. (These gentlemen do not put their candle under a bushel.) They call on the public for £100,000 which they will get. I send you some of their papers and a number of the *Economist* which I believe is established by Mr. James Wilson,[1] who published an excellent work on the Influences of the Corn Laws. He is a man of property. I shall be glad of information of the probable legislation on your tariff. I did hope that America would set the example of Free Trade, but of that I entirely despair. I was sorry not to be here when your friend Mr. Parker passed thro'. My nephew unites with me in best regards to Mrs. Lee and your family. Very truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 3 January, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, — I thank you very much for your letters, the last dated 15 December. Your President's Message is not in favor with our public writers or with any of us. There is nothing high minded about it, and we suppose it is written, however unsuccessfully, to secure some degree of popularity. I expect nothing of Free Trade from the next Congress and wish I could see any prospect of your adopting sound principles, even at some distance of time. I suppose we expected too much from you in this country; certainly the liberal Party among which I was reared, and with whom I have always associated, did expect great things as the result of your liberal institutions. To a certain degree we are disappointed, but we will hope for the best. Any of your early Presidents would have sent a Message very different from that of Mr. Tyler, but your public men of the present day appear to be sad trimmers to secure popularity, and you scarcely find any one firmly determined to sustain high principles, come what may as the result.

In this country, we of the Free Trade Party are in general, giving our exertions in support of the League, that being the only association formed for carrying out Free Trade principles. Many persons undoubtedly withhold their support, because they think the League go too far. These parties wish for a fixed duty on corn, but all our fixed duty men are now down to 5/. per quarter of wheat, so that the difference is not any great affair. The Liverpool subscriptions for the League, consequent upon our public meeting, now

[1] (1805–1860).

amount to £6000, a large sum for a town where monopoly is so much in the ascendant. The Manchester subscriptions are about £20,000. The Houses of Marshalls of Leeds, Strutt of Derby, and Philips of Manchester, have each subscribed £500. These sums shew the earnestness of the Parties, and I certainly have greater confidence than I ever had that Free Trade principles will be adopted in this country, but I should like them adopted soon, for one grows older, and should like to witness the good working of good measures. I quite agree with you that we should adopt Free Trade measures irrespective of the conduct of other countries, and like you, I would not wait for treaties of reciprocity.

I very much doubt if Sir Robert Peel will alter the Corn Laws next Session. Provisions are now at moderate prices, trade is greatly improved and the condition of the laboring classes better than it has been for several years. These things are unfavorable to better legislation, which generally is most successful when the people feel a pressure. My reliance is upon the increased knowledge of the people and the certainty that our Free Traders will never stop in carrying out the enlightenment of the people, till we have gained our ends. A new Parliament and a new Ministry are wanted to carry out good measures, but I would rather we had no change for a year to come. Earl Grey is very unwell and at his death, Lord Howick, one of our very clever men, will go to the House of Lords. Money is so abundant that it is thought the Government will be able to reduce the interest on the 3½ per cents to 3. A great rise has taken place in railway shares and in all property yielding interest, and I think they have been run up too high. What an immense increase in our consumption of cotton last year! I am sorry to send you so dull a letter. With every good wish, and my respects to Mrs. Lee and your family, Yours truly,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 18 April, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, — I know not whether to begin by offering my hearty thanks for the important information your letters have afforded me, or my apology for being so long in writing to you. With respect to the delay, let me say I have had more hard work upon Committees this Session than I ever had before; almost every day I have had to attend at noon, and frequently have not left the House till after midnight. This I assure you has thrown my correspondence very much in arrear.

Your letters to me come down to the 1st April. I am sorry you

are of opinion the tariff will not be altered. In truth I did not expect it, for your Monopolists are become a very powerful body, and people who work for themselves, do undoubtedly work a great deal harder than those who work for the public. Then there is such a delusion abroad about a country supplying its own wants, and being independent of foreigners. Your tariff is as clearly a law to impoverish your people, as if you had a law to take the money out of their pockets. I saw a letter lately from a gentleman who had travelled in the far West, and he was surprized to find what ordinary clothing was worn by persons having large landed possessions, and who would undoubtedly have been better covered if you had a greater freedom of import.

I wish indeed that I could tell you *we* were making much advance in legislation in the direction of Free Trade. This however is not the case at present. On the 29th the Chancellor of the Exchequer [1] is to bring forward his Budget. The Income Tax has brought a large surplus revenue, and we *hope* the duty on foreign sugars will be reduced so as to bring them into consumption and that the wool duty will be taken off. The Government has the power of doing a good deal. We have a Committee sitting to enquire into the smuggling of tobacco and the general working of the duty. I do not think however the duty will be altered, for the revenue upon it yields between three and four millions. I could have wished for a reduction in your tariff because it would have aided our Free Trade movement, especially among persons who take the narrow view of the subject and fear to act lest other people should not be as wise as ourselves. In the meantime, we are strengthening ourselves, and public opinion is getting stronger every day, so that when circumstances favor us, the declaration of public opinion in favor of Free Trade will be strong and irresistible. I send you two or three papers to show what we are doing. The *Economist* is very clever but I doubt if it will continue, for we are quite overdone with papers. The *League* has a circulation not much below 20,000. Money you see is most abundant and our funds very high. The universal speculation in cotton in January will be followed by heavy losses somewhere. I suspect Mr. Humphreys at Liverpool will be among the losers. Cotton now arriving loses at least £1 per bale. The weather, as spring weather is very fine. Great draining of land is going forward and there is a great demand for guano. My kind respects to Mrs. Lee. Very truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

[1] Henry Goulburn.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 18 July, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, — It is a great proof of your kindness that you write to me by almost every packet, without receiving a letter from me in return. The truth is, my labors in the present Session have been more pressing than they ever were before. Here have I been since the 1st February, serving upon Committees in the morning and attending in the House till a late hour at night. We have had a Bill to pass thro' both Houses, called the Dissenter's Chapel Bill, in which the body which I am connected with, felt a great interest inasmuch as it was chiefly intended for their benefit. The passing of this Bill has added very much to my labors and I can now truly say, that both in mind and body, I am thoroughly tired out and I heartily desire the rest which I trust the close of the Session, in about four weeks, will give me the means of enjoying. I intend to take a tour in Scotland, with the party I took to the Continent last Autumn.

I ought to be able to tell you what measures we have carried this session, not very many, I admit, which would chiefly interest you and me. The reduction in the 3½ per cent stock to 3 per cent has been very well managed and will be a large saving to the Exchequer. Sir Robert Peel's Bank charter Bill was also managed with great skill, and I think it will be a great check upon paper issues. No new bank of issue is to be allowed, and the banks now issuing are to be confined to the average amount of what they issue at present. The reduction of the duty of foreign coffee from 8d to 6d (British remaining at 4d) will bring in a good deal of the finer qualities of foreign coffee. After the Brazil Treaty expires in November, we are to admit foreign free labor sugar at 34/ and 5 per ct. British remaining at 24/ and 5 per ct. I and the Free Traders opposed the distinction between free labor and slave labor produce, but we did not succeed. However since the apprehension of the alteration in the sugar duties, the price of British has fallen 5/. perhaps 6/. per cwt., the importers selling immediately on arrival. The Corn Laws will remain as they are, so long as food is cheap and trade is good. I suppose we may give up the hope of Free Trade principles being advanced by the co-operation of the United States. If we had acted with judgment, as to our Corn Laws and Tariffs, you would scarcely have adopted a policy so completely restrictive. Still it would have been gratifying had you set a good example instead of following a bad one. I think with you, that the New York banks must be issuing too much paper. From the state of the exchange, it appears probably we shall get some of your specie which we do not want, having already too much of that article.

I think there is every prospect that Sir Robert Peel will remain in office for a while, but he has a difficult Party to manage, so many of them being behind the age, and Sir Robert himself so much in advance of them. I doubt whether the distinctions of party which have till now existed, will continue much longer. Pray let me hear from you. A letter from you is always a treat. My respects to Mrs. Lee. Very truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 3 October, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am indebted to you for two letters, but I must postpone my remarks upon them to a future occasion, for I have just returned from my second tour, made since the close of the Session, and to-morrow shall set out upon a third short trip. In this way, I really have not time to give much consideration to any one subject, tho' I would not allow the Packet to depart without thanking you for all the information you are so obliging as to give me, and for your own remarks on what is passing. My principal tour has been thro' the Western Highlands of Scotland, with my sister and two nieces. We visited Staffa, and went as far north as Inverness, then varying our route as any thing was to be seen, we came to Edinburgh, then to Carlisle, Newcastle, Durham and York. Last week I went alone to Worcester, Cheltenham and Gloucester, and in the Cathedral of the last named city, heard the Messiah of Handel in great stile by about three hundred performers. To-morrow my brother and I go to Hull and shall probably visit some of the other towns in that direction. I always find that in visits of this sort, I pick up a good deal of information that is hereafter useful to me.

I was glad to hear how well your cotton manufactures are going on. I suppose they were never doing better than they now are in this country, and so are most of our manufactures, but I am sorry to find this is a year of great loss to the merchants of Liverpool. I am told there is a loss on every article of import except timber, sheep's wool and hides. There is a great loss on flour from Canada, much of which is of low quality and most of it arriving sour. But the greatest loss of all, is upon cotton, and that is to an *enormous* amount. Importers, speculators, and brokers who have made advances to speculators, all lose heavily. There has been one failure, Roskell, Ogden & Co., but they lost every thing and received assistance from their relations in 1837 or 1839. Now their engagements afloat, I hear are only £26,000 of American drafts. You

probably know, or have heard of their New York partner, Mr. Depeyster Ogden, a gentleman, I think sadly too wise in his own conceit. Mr. Roskell when freed from his engagements, will become a share broker, and when prices are rising on account of the cheapness of money, these people do very well. I hear that your countryman, Mr. Humphreys, has been a large speculator in cotton — of course by means other than his own. The American commission business is a discouraging one, for shippers when there is a profit, take it of course, but when there is a loss, it is a most difficult thing to recover. I read a speech of Mr. Webster, delivered, I think at Albany. To all his remarks upon the tariff policy, there is one short answer in the pithy words of Coll. Peyronnet Thompson, "All protection means robbing somebody else." You must not suppose we are losing ground in Free Trade. That question is quietly progressing, and will mature in a while. At all the agricultural meetings, the farmers are exhorted to improve their system of agriculture, and not rely on protection. Depend upon it we shall gain something every year. I wish your people would have aided in this great cause, but I doubt if they will do so. And they give us little credit for what *we* do, for if we continue protection, they say 'thereby you flourish,' if we abandon it, they say 'you can *now* afford to do so.' However we will go on. My kind regards to Mrs. Lee. Very truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, Monday 4 May, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR, — The Irish Bill has been the great obstruction to proceeding with the Corn and Tariff Bills, but we came to a division on the first reading on Friday night, and now we proceed with the Corn and Tariff Bills which I expect will pass our House either next Friday, or not later than the 11th or 12th inst.

The general belief is that the Lords will pass both Bills and the majority it is stated will be twenty or thirty. Certain it is that the delay has brought about many conversions in the Lords.

I do not pretend to say when the Bills will have received the Royal Assent but whenever that is secured, you must write me a letter of congratulation. What shall we find to write about, when these great measures are accomplished?

I think you had better come over and pay us a visit, and see how prosperous and happy a people we shall be, supplied with food and merchandise from every part of the world. My respects if you please to Mrs. Lee. Very truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 3 July, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR, — On Friday last, the 26 June, I had the happiness to hear the Royal Assent given to the Tariff Bill, and to the Bill for the repeal of the Corn Laws. Believe me I feel that we are in a very proud position, and it is most creditable to the character of our countrymen to have accomplished these measures as we have done. The House of Lords, I think has distinguished itself, not by its decisions only but by the speeches of the Peers which have on the whole done them great credit.

The duty I presume has been paid already on the whole stock of wheat and flour, for the duty, according to the three years sliding scale, was on the passing of the Bill at its lowest point say 4/ per quarter. Yesterday it rose to 5/. foreseeing which the importers no doubt paid duty in anticipation. What a blessing to our people and to so many parts of the Civilized World!

The newspapers which I send you will shew you the circumstances under which Sir Robert Peel retires from office. He is right in going out, and it could not well be otherwise. On the question of the sugar duties he is opposed by Gladstone and Goulburn.[1] I hope Lord John Russell will bring in a good Sugar Bill and that Sir R. Peel will support it. Then we may carry the measure.

Many thanks for your letter by the last Packet. I am glad the Oregon question seems to be got over, but there is in your democracy a warlike spirit that will produce evil fruit some day. Yours very truly,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LIVERPOOL, 3 November, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your esteemed letter of the 15 August reached me at Amsterdam. I had never been in Holland, so a day or two before we broke up, I went over, and was met at Rotterdam, by an old Dutch friend whom I knew many years ago, a singular man but a very honest one, whom you may recollect in the States, Mr. Ven den Velden. He accompanied me for three weeks, so that we had ample time to see the whole of that country. I afterwards went over to Ireland, and I reached Galway on the West Coast, whence I intended to make a tour to the north west, which is about the most distressed district but the weather was so rainy and unsettled, that I gave up my tour and returned home. In Dublin I met in company

[1] Henry Goulburn (1784–1856).

one of the Judges and some other persons of standing and they asked me what had brought me to Ireland. I answered that I had been spending three weeks in Holland, a country which Nature had made a swamp and yet the industry and perseverance of the Dutch had drained the land and created the finest pasture land, and they were rearing the finest cattle I ever saw, and the whole population appeared to be in a flourishing condition. Now I said I am come to Ireland, to see why this country, so superior naturally to Holland, and setting aside the failure of your potato crop, is always in a state of beggary and wretchedness. This question was not very easily answered.

There is no question that the potatoes have failed in Ireland to a very great extent, and yet I have sometimes thought the failure was exaggerated. The outcry for relief is beyond any thing for the landlords and the upper classes want to get all the public money and to supply as little of their own, as they possibly can. The whole state of society in Ireland, is anything but what it ought to be. It is extraordinary that when Indian meal was first introduced into Ireland a year ago, the people refused to eat it, and almost considered it something poisonous, and now they seem as if they would eat nothing else. All the Indian corn that has arrived both from the U. S. and the Mediterranean has been bought up, chiefly for Ireland and there is *not any* now on sale at this port. The price is 56/ per quarter or 7/ per bushel of 60 lbs. I believe the Irish demand would take off a very large quantity. Our Free Trade measures are working admirably, and almost all parties seem as if they wish the remaining Corn Laws were taken off. Some representations to that effect have been made to the Government but they have prorogued Parliament till 12 January and it is believed they will not interfere with the Corn Law. You know Indian corn does not pay a fluctuating duty, but a permanent duty of 1/ per quarter, and the lowest duty is payable on all the other articles, namely 4/ wheat, 1/6 oats, 2/. all the rest, and these duties will probably continue for several months. Wheat and flour seem to be rather declining, flour in bond about 32/. I do not think wheat and flour will fluctuate very much, but we shall want large supplies of I. corn and the inferior grains, and indeed I think we shall want all the wheat and flour you can send us. Our sugar duties too are working well and the nonsense about slavery seems at an end. Duty is paid here every day on a small quantity of Manilla, Cuba, Porto Rico and Brazil.

Your Tariff I have no doubt will give you the Revenue Mr. Walker expects. My objection to the Tariff, if I was an American, would be that it is a great deal too high. Yours very truly,

THO. THORNELY.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 2 February, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your letter of the 16th December remarked good naturedly that you were almost sorry the Corn Laws were repealed, as we might no longer have materials for correspondence. It is true we have been fellow labourers in the cause of Free Trade, and now that so much has been accomplished we ought to write, if only to congratulate each other. Besides this, I assure you that your letters for years past have given me both great pleasure and great instruction, and I doubt not we shall be able to find materials for farther correspondence.

In four days after our Session begun, we suspended till 1st Sept. the import duties on grain, flour, meal and rice, and suspended the Navigation Laws so as to admit them, to that time, in any ships from any countries. So that for the present we have got the *total repeal*, and I think it very probable, the duty will not again attach. Our wants for Ireland have been so pressing (and so they will continue whilst the Irish have public money with which to buy food) that the supplies from the States seem to have disappointed us as to their extent. I am aware you have grown nothing for us, and eventually the supplies will be enormously large, but what we are anxious about is the next few months. I suppose Western Canal flour is worth about 40/. and there must be about 500,000 barrels of flour lying in Liverpool. Some people are of opinion the stocks held by the farmers, even in Ireland are large and that prices have seen the highest, and indeed wheat in Mark Lane fell yesterday 5/ per quarter.

The Indian corn has been bought for consumption as fast as it arrived and often before, and has sustained the enormous prices of 70/ and 74/ per quarter. This is such a fancy price that I will not pretend to say when it will fall to its natural price. Certainly the famine in Ireland, occasioned by failure of the potato crop, is more serious than I apprehended, and oatmeal, so well suited to the people is selling higher than wheaten flour. The difficulty of managing Ireland, no one can tell. The wealthy absentee Landlords are the best, the worst are the poor resident Landlords mortgaged to the utmost. If they could all be sold up it would be a great blessing. You will receive from us a good deal of specie, at the present exchange. Your agriculturists must have a great harvest of wealth in the present state of things. I will add a P. S. tomorrow, and with my kind respects to Mrs. Lee, believe me Yours most truly,

THO. THORNELY.

The Irish poor are so crowding over to this country, that including women and children they are now relieving in Liverpool 24,000.

3 February. I see Western Canal flour has fallen in Liverpool to 38/6 and 39/. Indian corn is still upwards of 70/. I really believe we shall want a great deal of Indian Corn and I do not think any of these articles will fall low for a considerable time.

THOMAS THORNELY TO HENRY LEE.

LONDON, 30 November [18 November], 1847.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have to thank you for your obliging letters of 30 September and 30th October. Parliament meets to-day, but only for the election of Speaker and for swearing in Members when it must be decided whether the Jewish Baron Rothschild [1] can sit among us Christians. The Queen's Speech which makes the commencement of business will not be delivered till the 23d inst. It is stated in some of the well informed papers that a Parliamentary Committee will be appointed to consider our present banking system. If there should be a Committee I [hope] it may be a searching one, for the Country Joint Stock Banks have been carrying on a very wild business, discounting all sorts of paper at long dates, charging a high rate and then re-discounting with the money brokers in London at a low rate and thus making a large dividend. If they had confined their business to the limits required [by] the extent of their capital, their dividend would have been less, so the shareholders would have been dissatisfied and the managers would not have been regarded for their wisdom. It was when the money brokers in London could no longer find cash to discount these bills that the Joint Stock Banks cried out about currency. I told the managers I saw clearly (this was in April) that they were short of capital, that I was sure they had in their bill case vast amounts in bills which ought never to have been there, and that they had better go home and make calls upon their shareholders for more capital, and also that they should do less business. I had no idea of the extent to which bills connected with India and China were running, generally drawn at six months. The railways as I once told you have been a principal cause of the scarcity of money they have locked up so very much capital — this year upwards of thirty-five millions. I do not know exactly how the money market now stands. A rich banker in Liverpool told me last week he had been lending

[1] Lionel Nathan de Rothschild (1808–1870). He was not allowed to take his seat, although repeatedly elected, until 1858. The question of admitting him turned on the oath taken by members.

out money on the London Stock Exchange at 4 per ct. and I was told the same Bank was discounting bills at 6 per ct. Our 3 per cts. have advanced and are now between 84 and 85 and I think money will be abundant and at a moderate rate very soon. Most [of] the doubtful bills must have run out, tho' no doubt many have been renewed. I understand in Liverpool that holders of railway shares are offering to borrow money, leaving a good margin at 10 per cent. It is said the Royal Bank of Liverpool will [ca]ll up more capital from their share holders and resume business the 1st December. Were I a share holder, I would withdraw and I believe shares on which £500 had been paid, we[re] since the stoppage to have been had [for] nothing. The House to which this Bank advanced nearly £500,000 is already in the Gazette. One thing is already pretty generally understood, namely that *no House has failed which ought not to fail*. These London Houses had long been unsound, and were merchant princes only in their princely expenditure.

I scarcely think Parliament will do any thing about banking, unless it be to remove the restriction on the issues of the Bank of England, which has been done by the letter from Lord John Russell and Sir Charles Wood,[1] tho' *not acted upon by the Bank thus far*, and *now* will not be required though they say it restored confidence. At all events our convertible currency will be sustained, and we shall not allow issues of paper. Speculation and over trading have done terrible mischief, but I look for a good sound trade, under our present Free Trade regulations and we shall be all the better when these rotten establishments are out of the way. Very truly yours,

THO. THORNELY.

THE ROXBURY COMMITTEE OF VIGILANCE, 1834–1835.

Dr. Edward H. Bradford has presented to the Society the following papers pertaining to a committee of Vigilance formed in Roxbury after the burning of the convent in Charlestown and intended to protect nuns who had taken temporary refuge in Roxbury. The secretary of this committee was Charles Hickling, whose daughter was the mother of Dr. Bradford.[2] Fragmentary as they are, these records of meetings, all in

[1] (1800–1885).

[2] The Hicklings traced back to William, of York, who married Sarah Sales; his grandson, William, married Elizabeth Hudson (or Hodson), and his great-grandson, also William, married Elizabeth Bradford and had Charles, born in 1799, who married Eliza Edes.

Hickling's writing, are of interest in bringing to light an act of mercy at a time when its performance demanded courage and sacrifice.

I.

CAMBRIDGE, December 15th, 1834.

DEAR SIR, — I would inform you that, I have received information, that threats have been made to pull down or destroy the building, used a[s] a Nunery, at Roxbury. Altho. I do not, on common occasions, think much of these threats, Yet I think they may mean something, in these times of excitement and insubordination. I sincerely hope, if such an attempt should be made, the persons engaged may be tried and punished, on the spot. They could not be convicted, probably, before a Court of Justice. We learn that, by the present trials, here. You will excuse me, I presume, for this information. I hope for better acquaintance.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

B. F. VARNUM, *Shff. of Middlesex.*

John Baker, 2d. Shff. of Norfolk.

II.

At a meeting of the Inhabitants of Roxbury held at the Town Hall on Tuesday evening, Dec. 23d, 1834 for the purpose of taking measures to suppress riots and for protecting the building now occupied by the "Ursuline Community"

Major Isaac Gale was chosen Chairman, and C. Hickling, Secretary.

Voted That Messrs. Jon'n Dorr
C. Hickling
S. J. Gardner
Dr. Prentiss and
George Adams, be a committee to draft resolutions expressive of the sentiments of this meeting upon the subject before them.

Said committee Reported the following:

"Whereas the Inhabitants of Roxbury have viewed with feelings of regret the late disgraceful riots in an adjoining County; And having had information that the same scenes will be acted at their very thresholds; And feeling the necessity, while they profess to live in a community governed by wise and wholesome laws that those laws should be supported with a becoming spirit of energy and determination; and that all rioters, and all bodies of men associated for the destruction of private property should be considered and treated

as enemies of the public weal, and destroyers of the sacred rights of society — therefore

Resolved, That we will form a Committee of Vigilance of Protection who shall hold themselves ready at a moments warning to repair to any place of riot, and repress with energy the lawless attacks of a lawless mob.

Resolved, that said Committee be forthwith formed by all such persons, as shall voluntarily subscribe articles of association, founded on principles of the last resolution, who shall have the power to apply to the proper Authorities for a legal watch and to take such other legal measures, as shall have the tendency to promote and command the peace of the community.

Voted to accept these resolutions.

Voted that the following gentlemen be the Executive Committee of this general Committee:

David Dudley	Joseph Harrington	Gen. E. W. Bradley
D. A. Simmons	Shubael Bills	John Webber
Chas. Hickling	J. J. Clarke	Jon'a Dorr
Isaac Gale	Watson Gore	John Lemist

Voted that this meeting be dissolved.

C. Hickling, *Secretary.*

The Executive Committee of Vigilance and Protection having adjourned to the Norfolk House,

John Lemist was chosen Chairman

Charles Hickling Secretary.

Voted that the Selectmen be requested to appoint a nightly patrol to watch the building occupied by the Ursuline Community.

Voted that a *Secret Committee* of three be formed to collect the earliest information of any threatened attack, or of any meetings held in any of the neighboring towns to disturb the quiet of this Community.

Voted that this Committee be formed by one from this board and two out of it.

Voted that Mr. Shubael Bills from this Board be Chairman of this Committee and that S. J. Gardner, Esq. and Capt. Lewis Slack be associated with him.

Voted That D. A. Simmons and Watson Gore be a committee to wait immediately upon the Superior and state to her the proceedings of this evening.

Voted that a watch be appointed to guard the building this night, and that Gen'l Bradley be a Committee from this Board to attend to the forming a watch of six persons, and repair to the Town House for that purpose.

Voted that J. Harrington be a Committee to make the necessary preparations to have the military in readiness at a moment's warning.

Voted that the Captain of the watch be nightly instructed, upon the first alarm, to send a man to ring and toll the bell in Mr. Putnam's meeting house.

Voted that the names of the nightly watch be handed to the Superior, and that they report themselves to her.

Voted that the members of this Board on the first alarm repair immediately to Mr. Watson Gore's house.

The Committee appointed to wait upon the Superior reported that they found the inmates of the Convent at rest, for the first time for two nights, and a guard on duty around the house.

The Committee to form the Watch, returned and reported that he had dispatched six persons upon that duty for this night.

III.

A Committee from the meeting of the young men, submitted a letter directed to the Superior of the Ursuline Community. Whereupon it was Voted that this Board approve it, and that the Chairman endorse said approval upon it.

Voted that this meeting adjourn to W. Gore's house Friday evening [1] next 7. o'clock.

C. HICKLING, *Sec'y.*

[The following was crossed out:] Voted Mess. Harrington and Gore be a committee to confer with the Lady Superior in relation to the Head quarters of Watch.

IV.

Adjourned meeting at Mr. Gore's Dec. 26th, 1834.

Voted that a voluntary watch be raised to guard the building now occupied by the Community.

Voted that each member of this Committee obtain ten persons to compose the voluntary watch.

Voted that Mr. Harrington and Mr. Gore and Mr. Hickling be a committee to call upon the Superior and ascertain her views touching the mode of protecting those under her charge.

Voted the above Committee inform the Superior, that it is the opinion of this Committee of Vigilance that the inmates of Brinley Place, in case of alarm should not remove, but remain quietly in the building confident of adequate protection.

[1] December 26?

Voted that Jon'n Dorr be a Committee to confer with the Prudential Committee of the district in which the School house is situated and endeavor to obtain the nightly use of the building for the accommodation of the watch.

The Committee appointed to wait upon the Superior reported that she with great kindness offered the use of the Hall with a fire and refreshments for the nightly watch. That she could not express the gratitude she felt for the energetic steps which had been taken by the Citizens of Roxbury for her protection — a kindness greater than she had ever experienced before. And that she kindly thanked them.

Voted that the Norfolk Guards be kept in readiness at their Armory in case of any riot and wait the orders of a civil officer.

Voted that Judge Leland be requested in case of a riot to read the riot act. If he should not be on the ground, then the Senior Magistrate to act in his stead.

Voted that the watch word "Protection" be reported to the Superior, as one that may admit the Committee of Vigilance into the building occupied by her, in case of alarm.

Voted that Mr. Gore report the watch word to the Superior.

Voted to adjourn to next Thursday evening 7. o'clock at Mr. Lemist's house.

V.

To the Committee of Vigilance:

Messrs, If a requisition of the Infantry is necessary in the present crisis of affairs, independent of the Norfolk Guards I would suggest the expediency of being extremely cautious to whom the Command of Infantry Companies were assigned and that no officer be detailed for duty on the occasion who is unwilling to make a single effort to sustain the 'Supremacy of the Laws.' I am induced to make these suggestions to you from remarks made by a number of officers, in command of Infantry Companies, and their subalterns under them, in this Town. Knowing the influence those officers exert over Men under their command I should think it would be highly improper that any duty be assigned them in the defence, (if any attack is made) of the Ursuline Community. I would call the attention of the Committee to the subject of Alarms of Fire, wether it would not be necessary to reconnoitre the 'Highlands' south of the Convent to see wether there are any Combustible Materials for making Beacon Fires, collected on the hill to be used by evil disposed persons to anoy the members of the U. Community by False Alarms of Fire. While the Bells were ringing an Alarm last Evening, in the City, the Attention of a particular class of Men were directed to-

wards the Convent, — and an Alarm of Fire on the Hill south of the Convent will be the Signal for an attack, or collection of a mob near the Convent for the Annoyance of its Inmates; if not the destruction of the Buildings. I hope the Committee will excuse the manner in which the above suggestions are made. Necessarily coming in contact with a great variety of Men as I do, and hearing frequent allusions made to the all exciting topics of conversation; I am able from what I can collect together from the informations of some of the most worthless and detestable Men, who justify the proceedings of the late outrages at Charlestown, that a somewhat similar mode of opperation will be adopted here.

Gentlemen I am with Respect Your Obedient Servant,

L. SLACK.

ROXBURY, December 28, 1834.

[Addressed,] To the Committee Vigilance of Roxbury.

VI.

Dec. 31st, 1834.

GENTLEMEN: — Look out sharp on Saturday night as an attack on the temporary Convent is meditated. It will be attacked if the Conspirators do not find out that they are watched. They will look sharp as well as you. You cannot watch them too sharp. I can tell you no more than "Look sharp."

Adieu.

A Friend to the Laws.

To the Select men of Roxbury.

[Addressed, in another handwriting,] Mr. Nathaniel S. Prentiss, Roxbury, Mass. [Postmarked,] Boston.

VII.

Adjourned meeting at Mr. John Lemist's Thursday evening, January 1, 1835.

Voted that the subscriptions paper be handed to Mr. Bullard and he be requested to make a complete list, of the names, and then be submitted by him to the inhabitants generally for additional names.

Mr. Lemist read a letter from the Superior.

A letter was read from Capt. Slack in relation to his duty as one of the Secret Committee.

Voted that Mr. Clark be a Committee to carry into effect the first vote as far as respects the passing the subscription paper to Mr. Bullard, and requesting him to collect additional names.

VIII.

Special Meeting at Mr. Gore's January 3d, 1835.

Voted that a committee be appointed to confer with the Selectmen and ascertain if the Committee of Vigilance can be made a permanent watch or special constables in case of emergency.
Voted that J. Lemist and D. A. Simmons be a committee to confer with the Selectmen upon the subject of the above vote.

IX.

Whereas certain evil minded, lawless persons, hitherto unknown, have threatened violence to the property, the late Mansion-House of the Hon. Henry A. S. Dearborn, but now owned by us — and desirous to protect the same from wanton destruction, Therefore we earnestly solicit the aid of those citizens of Roxbury who have formed an association for the purpose of meeting any emergency to which they may be called, in protecting the said Building and its curtilages, and more especially its innocent Inmates who have made it their dwelling place and Castle.

DAVID DUDLEY
SHUBAEL BILLS.
FULLER & SIMMONS
JON'A DORR.

Mr. WETMORE has given to the Society the original of the following letter:

JOSEPH STORY TO H. A. S. DEARBORN.

Cambridge Septr. 19, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, — I thank you very sincerely for the No. of the Knickerbocker[1] containing your article on Mr Alston's "Belshazzar's Feast," and still more for your kind and interesting Letter. The article on "Belshazzar's Feast" is written with great beauty and force, and vividness of colouring, and shews a mind thoroughly imbued with the Love of Art, and with a nice and curious discrimination. It has elevated the picture and Alston also in my opinion, highly indeed, as I had thought of his powers and genius, and skill in execution before. The Tribute is a noble one, and cannot fail to meet the approval of the public as well as of all friends. How few, indeed, there are who know, how to appreciate such a work, and to bestow upon it a warm and distinctive praise, and to feel as well as to unfold its merits!

[1] *Knickerbocker Magazine*, XXIV. 205.

The part of your Letter, which alludes to our early friendship, is, I confess, still more dear to me. I rejoice to know, that it has been from the beginning, unshaken, and unvaried. I look back with pride upon it; and with a consciousness, that your own most honorable course through life has been in perfect keeping with the promise of your early manhood. Few men, indeed, have I had the good fortune to know, who have so steadfastly maintained their principles through all the changes and tergiversations of party politics, and kept their honour unstained and unobscured. I have only been mortified, that your merits have not constantly received those rewards, which I know to be your just due; and I have been indignant when they have been passed over in favour of the trivial and supple candidates for the popular suffrage.

This is the 19th of September, and I trust it may be a day of happy Augury for Mr. Clay and the whigs. If he should be chosen, as I most earnestly pray, that he may, President of the U. States, I cannot doubt that you will, as you ought to, receive some high mark of the public confidence through him. I can speak of you as one always true to Whig Principles, and devoted to him, and his principles, for the protection of the great Interests of our country — Agriculture, commerce and manufactures — and that you have labored long and worthily in the good cause and with no mean sacrifices. What office would best befit you, I pretend not to designate; but I should rejoice that you might have some honorable and profitable office at home, or abroad.

I began this Letter without intending to dwell on these topics. But my true opinions and feelings are in it; and if Mr. Clay should win the race, pray do not hesitate to use this Letter, wherever you may deem it useful, as my sincere and cordial Testimony in your favour.

Pray give my kindest Regards to your wife[1] — my early friend — whose family always possessed my highest Respect, and the memory of whom will never pass from my thought while I live. Believe me most truly and affectionately your friend,

JOSEPH STORY

Mr. WETMORE also presented the following letter:

ELIPHALET NOTT TO CHESSELDEN ELLIS.[2]

UNION COLLEGE, Feb. 4th, 1844.

MY DEAR ELLIS, — Your favour, some parts of which you say is confidential, will be so regarded. I am glad to see that you have

[1] Hannah Swett Lee, of Salem.

[2] A member of Congress from New York.

made so good a beginning. You have the talent, and the industry to acquire influence; and if you will exercise the prudence and self-government requisite to this end, you will assuredly acquire it. In Congress, as elsewhere, time as well as talent, is necessary to acquire an ascendency. A new member cannot do much at first, and must not try to do too much. His first object must be to establish a character of some sort. It may be for debating, or it may be for advising, or for judging correctly of men and measures, or it may be for truth, honour, and incorruptible integrity, and the last must be established by every statesman who is to maintain an abiding influence.

A man's thoughts are his own — he has a right to hold his peace, to adopt a course of action for himself, and to wait the issue. But if he speak at all, he is bound to speak truth, and if he promise, tho' to his hurt, he must keep his word. He must do this for conscience sake, and also for his own sake. A man may be cautious and sagacious, but he may not be faithless, either to friends or foes. Oaths are to be kept with heretics, as well as with the orthodox, and as well in politics, as religion.

I think the politics of this country more complicated than at any former period. There is a growing feeling against any President's running for the office a second term, and this of itself makes it more difficult to carry our friend Van Buren than it would otherwise be. Mr. Calhoun is a splendid and noble man, but there is one thing that presses like an incubus upon him.

Things are now so balanced, that if either party could bring forward an unobjectionable candidate, and a candidate in whose behalf some enthusiasm could be excited, that candidate might be elected. But it is difficult for an army during action to change fronts, and not much less so for a party during a political campaign, to change candidates, especially in a great country and during the existence of conflicting interests. Tho' the candidates were less blameless than they are, it would still behove us to trust in Providence.

I perceive that the die is cast, and that our friend Spencer [1] is rejected. So be it. I only hope that a worse man may not be forced, through party animosity, upon the country.

The individual you mention as a substitute is a good man and true — but can his nomination be effected? Perhaps.

I send you a copy of the *Enquirer* and enclose a brief notice of it,

[1] John Canfield Spencer (1778–1855), nominated by President Tyler, January 9, 1844, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and rejected by the Senate, January 31, by a vote of 26 to 21. His name was again sent to the Senate, June 17, and withdrawn the same day.

with the correspondence between the Ex: Com: and Doct's Warren, Mott, and Worner, which I should like to have inserted in the Washington papers, and a copy forwarded to me. Yours truly,

ELIP'T NOTT.

THEODOSIA BURR ALSTON TO MRS. MADISON

ROCKY RIVER SPRINGS, N. C., June 24th, 1809.

Madam: — You may, perhaps, be surprised at receiving a letter from one with whom you have had so little intercourse for the last few years. But your surprise will cease when you recollect that my Father, once your friend, is now in exile, and that the President only can restore him to me and to his country.

Ever since the choice of the people was first declared in favor of Mr. Madison, my heart, amid the universal joy, has beat with the hope that I, too, should soon have reason to rejoice. Convinced that Mr. Madison would neither feel nor judge from the feelings or judgment of others, I had no doubt of his hastening to relieve a man whose character he had been enabled to appreciate during a confidential intercourse of long continuance; and whom he must know incapable of the designs attributed to him. My anxiety on this subject has, however, become too painful to be alleviated by anticipations which no events have yet tended to justify; and in this state of intolerable suspense, I have determined to address myself to you, and request that you will, in my name, apply to the President for a removal of the prosecution now existing against Aaron Burr; I still expect it from him as a man of feeling and candour, as one acting for the world and for posterity.

Statesmen, I am aware, deem it necessary that sentiments of liberality, and even of justice, should yield to considerations of policy: but what policy can require the absence of my Father at present? Even had he contemplated the project for which he stands arraigned, evidently to pursue it any further would now be impossible. There is not left one pretext of alarm even to calumny; for, bereft of fortune, of popular favor and almost of friends, what could he accomplish? And, whatever may be the apprehensions or the clamors of the ignorant and the interested, surely the timid, illiberal system which would sacrifice a man to a remote and unreasonable possibility that he might infringe some law, founded on an unjust, unwarrantable suspicion that he would desire it, cannot be approved by Mr. Madison, and must be unnecessary to a President so loved, so honored.

Why, then, is my Father banished from a country for which he has encountered wounds and dangers and fatigue for years? Why

is he driven from his friends, from an only child, to pass an unlimited time in exile, and that too at an age when others are reaping the harvest of past toils, or ought at least to be providing seriously for the comfort of ensuing years. I do not seek to soften you by this recapitulation; I wish only to remind you of all the injuries which are inflicted on one of the first characters the United States ever produced. Perhaps it may be well to assure you there is no truth in a report, lately circulated, that my Father intends returning immediately. He never will return to conceal himself in a country on which he has conferred distinction.

To whatever fate Mr. Madison may doom this application, I trust it will be treated with delicacy; of this I am the more desirous as Mr. Alston is ignorant of the step I have taken in writing to you, which, perhaps, nothing could excuse but a warmth of filial affection; if it be an error, attribute it to the indiscreet zeal of a daughter whose soul sinks at the gloomy prospect of a long and indefinite separation from a Father almost adored; and who can leave unattempted nothing which offers the slightest hope of procuring him redress. What indeed, would I not risk once more to see him, to hang upon him, to place my child on his knee, and again spend my days in the happy occupation of endeavouring to anticipate all his wishes?

Let me entreat, my dear Madam, that you will have the consideration and goodness to answer me as speedily as possible; my heart is sore with doubt and patient waiting for something definite. No apologies are made for giving you this trouble, which I am sure you will not deem it irksome to take for a daughter, an affectionate daughter, thus situated. Enclose your letter for me to A. I. Frederic Prevost, Esq., near New Rochelle, New York.

That every happiness may attend you, is the sincere wish of

THEO. BURR ALSTON

THOMAS B. WAIT TO JAMES SAVAGE

WASHINGTON CITY, Feb. 7th, 1816.

My dear Sir, — I told you before I left Boston I would write to you, and you see I keep my word. You have heard, in the Legislature of Massachusetts, of broad stair members. I have had the honour of being this sort of member at Washington for two or three weeks past; and I have the happiness of not being alone. If the doors of Congress could be opened to us, we should vote all the other members out of the House; but we are allowed neither to vote nor speak; we resort, therefore, to secret influence. Some want places, some Indian lands, some contracts, some money, some to

sell books. Mr. Jefferson and I belong to this last class. His business is finished, mine is but half done.[1] He has received twenty thousand dollars and I expect but ten. So that, in all respects, he is my superior, as broad stair member. How he managed I know not, but I have had hard work. I made my attack on the Senate, took the bull by the horns, and tormented till I tamed him. Whether in mercy to me or themselves will never perhaps be known, but they have this day voted to purchase 500 sets of State Papers,[2] at $2.25 a copy; and there is little reason to doubt but the vote will be sanctioned by the House. A Committee has been appointed, Mr. King,[3] Chairman, to examine the unpublished confidential Documents. We have found them all, but several of them must not be printed. Still I fear there will be nearly another volume. Mr. King wishes that the secret journals of the old Congress may be published. He is Chairman of a Committee to examine them. He has consulted the President and Secretary of State. They doubt, but have not yet determined. Mr. Monroe told me that those Journals would make three or four volumes; but I believe they will fill seven or eight. The business will be determined before I leave Washington; but on the whole I doubt whether it will yet be expedient to publish them.

To talk a little more soberly about the Senate. They are the most respectable, and dignified, and able, and I will add, because I feel it to be my duty to add, the most excellent, body of men to whom I was ever introduced. Mr. King, you know, is the greatest man in our country, excepting Mr. Cabot; and Mr. King has that transcendent influence in the Senate of the United States, to which his talents, and integrity and acquirements entitle him. I look upon that Senate, and am once more proud of my country. I did this before they voted to purchase 500 copies of State Papers.

Feb. 9th. The treaty making power is now before the two Houses. The Senate say it belongs to the President and themselves, the House that they have a right to participate; and do you believe that Cyrus King has voted in favour of the pretensions of the House? He has. My faith in him, as a correct Statesman, is gone forever. He may be a very clever fellow, but in politicks he is a mad-cap. Mr. R. King has this day made a speech on the subject, and just such a one as he ought to make, and just such a one as no other man in Congress could make. He is — shall I not use the epithet, it is what I think — he is a god-like man. The House

[1] Jefferson had sold his library to the United States.
[2] A publication by Wait. [3] Rufus King.

must recede, or no bill will pass. There is no party consideration which appears to influence any member of the Senate; it is principle, a great constitutional principle. Mr. Barbour, late governour of Virginia, is most decided in opposition to the claims of the House. "There is not," said he, "much which we can do, but we have much to resist. The line is marked out. I am now standing on it, and will not recede an inch. I am for postponing the subject indefinitely; the Judiciary will know how to decide, they will not hesitate." The subject is to be again taken up on Monday.

I have spoken with some, perhaps too much, severity of Cyrus King, but it is on principle. I have nothing personal against him. I am sure I have no quarrel with him, for I dine with him tomorrow. I mean only, that he is too impetuous and passionate for a Statesman, too precipitate for a sound politician. His friends say, that he voted for the House because he hated the President. Admitting that the D——l himself were President, and that he had made a treaty consigning us all, during four years, to the infernal regions, he ought to support it, and you and I ought to go, rather than violate a fundamental principle of the constitution.

Randolph is a sad fellow. I wish you could look at him. He is as tall, and as straight, and as swarthy, as a Sagamore, and squeels like a pig when the knife is in his throat; and he is as great a nuisance as the Pig without a knife and without a yoke. He breaks into every one's yard, and pokes his nose into every one's pail of swill. He talks at all times, and upon all subjects; generally, however, preferring any subject rather [than] the one before the House. The first day after my arrival I feared that he would not, and ever since that he would, speak; and there is not a man in the House or gallery who is not, on this subject, as great a coward as I am. Since I have been in the city he has cost the House more than I have cost the Senate, which you know is more than ten thousand Dollars.

There my friend, if you want more nonsense, you must call upon some other *member* — my stock is exhausted. Respectfully and sincerely yours,

THOS. B. WAIT.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. SHATTUCK, J. C. WARREN, STORER, and NORCROSS.

MEMOIR

OF

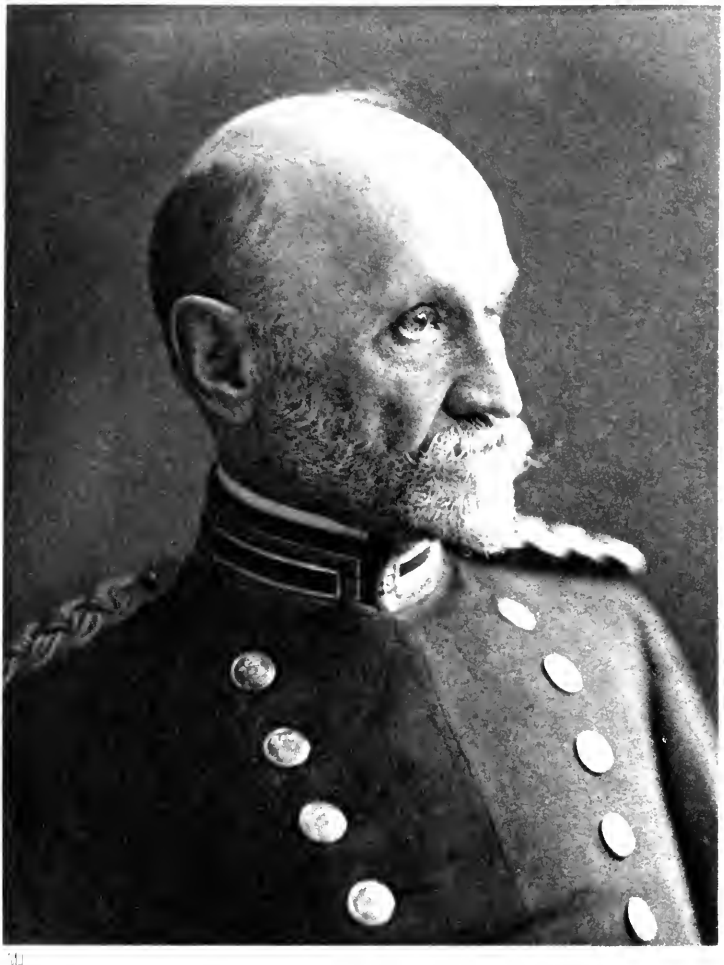
WILLIAM ROSCOE LIVERMORE

BY ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL.

ON the ancestry of our late colleague, Col. William Roscoe Livermore, it is unnecessary to comment here, for his father, George Livermore, was an honored member and benefactor of this Society, and a long memoir of him by Charles Deane may be found in Volume X of the first series of our *Proceedings*.

Colonel Livermore was born in Cambridge on January 11, 1843. There his childhood was passed, and in due time he naturally entered Harvard College. But, while a freshman, he obtained a nomination to West Point, whither he went in 1861. An incident there shows that he was not devoid of the spirit of harmless mischief which gives a spice to life; and in fact he always had a sense of fun little suspected by those who did not know him well. With two or three other cadets he sounded reveillé one morning and made the whole corps, with the officers of the post, turn out an hour before the proper time. This he did without being discovered — no small exploit at the Academy, a serious offence against discipline at the moment, but a good story in later life.

During the whole four years spent by his class at West Point the Civil War was raging, and the cadets longed to be called out for active service, but the government wisely abstained from anticipating the supply of trained young officers in a war whose duration was uncertain. In 1865 he graduated sixth in a class of sixty-eight, and selected the Corps of Engineers



Faithfully yours
W. R. Livermore

for which he was peculiarly fitted by his mathematical and scientific ability. It was not long before he showed his capacity.

In 1868, when twenty-five years of age, the laying of the first American cable from the United States to Havana gave a chance to exercise his systematic precision and resourcefulness. While it was being laid the cable parted, and the engineers of the company, unable to find the broken end, abandoned the attempt to do so; whereupon he asked leave to try to find it, and by an ingenious use of the data at command he succeeded.

As an army engineer he was connected with work on fortifications on the Atlantic coast from New Bedford to Tortugas, with river and harbor improvements in the Northeast and on the Missouri, and with surveying on the Great Lakes and in Texas. In the last of these places his services proved so noteworthy that a mountain in Jefferson Davis county bears his name. It is characteristic of his indifference, if not repugnance, to popular recognition that he objected to this; but his disinclination was very properly unheeded by the Department. While in this region he had an experience that showed his determination and pluck. Roughs in the neighborhood were impeding the work of the post, but instead of resorting to military measures he decided to give them a lesson of a kind they could understand. Although not a large man or particularly athletic, he offered to fight their leader with his fists. To make the lesson more emphatic he had one hand tied behind his back, and being skillful in boxing he thrashed his opponent. Thereafter he had no trouble with these men and became very popular among them.

Most of his active life was spent in this country serving on the Engineer Corps; but in 1899 he was sent to Europe as Military Attaché to the embassies at Copenhagen and Stockholm. During that mission he travelled in Germany and Russia, witnessing the army maneuvers in the former, and the three years he passed abroad were full of interest to his alert and observing mind.

Intellectually, indeed, he was always busy, and his interests extended over a wide range, military and civil. He published a manual of tactics (*Maneuvers for Infantry*, 1884), simplified the German Kriegspiel for the use of American officers, and, with Col. A. H. Russell, invented magazine and automatic

guns, including the method of loading the rifle by clips. His interest in, and capacity for, mastering scientific problems led him into many fields. To the American Academy of Arts and Sciences he was elected, not in the section of engineering but of chemistry; and he contributed to the *Journal of the American Chemical Society* (Vol. XII, No. 9) a paper on the mathematical relations of the atomic weights, — a problem whose significance he was, indeed, one of the first to appreciate.

To no subject could he turn his attention without devoting to it profound study. An opportunity for doing so in a matter important for both military and civil life was presented when he was detailed as engineer of the first light-house district, a service placed under the War Department although its utility is naval. It had long been known that fog signals were at times inaudible when most needed, and vessels were often wrecked close to light houses without hearing a sound. Major Livermore, as he then was, undertook to ascertain the cause and cure of this phenomenon. He began by charting the silent areas — the sound shadows as he called them — of his district under different atmospheric conditions; and found that they occurred only where the signal was situated upon a cliff or bluff high enough to deflect the wind, only when the wind was blowing strongly on shore, and only over an area extending a certain distance to sea. He then calculated the interference with the sound waves caused by the ascending current of the wind on touching the cliff, and showed that under these conditions the sound waves which would otherwise strike the nearer sea would be deflected upward, but by dispersion would reach the water farther out. This accounted for the sound shadows near the fog signal and the audibility of the sound at a greater distance. As that occurred only when the wind was strong on shore, and hence the sea rough, it was evident that a whistling buoy would sound whenever the fog signal could not be heard. He recommended, therefore, that such buoys should be moored to windward of all fog signals standing upon high ground, and they may now be seen throughout our coast, thereby removing a former danger of maritime disaster.

Military history always occupied much of his attention, and he was a diligent student thereof, but his principal publication on the subject was rather a tribute to the memory of a friend

than a labor undertaken for its own sake. John C. Ropes, the learned historian of Napoleon and of the Civil War, known and beloved by all members of this Society, died when only half of his history of the Civil War was completed; and Col. Livermore agreed to finish it. This he did in two admirable volumes covering the period from the beginning of 1863 to the close of the war.

With so little of a popular nature from his pen his writing of this book is a satisfaction, tempered only by a fear that it may have interfered with the completion and publication of what he regarded as his chief productive work. This is the historical atlas upon which he spent an enormous amount of labor. It is significant of his versatile mind that his primary activities being connected with military art and physical science he should have taken as the leading object of many years a plan that falls within neither of those fields. But he was an intellectual pioneer by temperament, and felt that here lay a work never done and much needed. He believed that history could be greatly illuminated by a picture virtually continuous of the changes in political geography that have taken place from the dawn of historical knowledge to the present day. His object is best described in his own words:

A separate map is given for each ten years for Europe and twenty for Asia, excepting for those in which there were no important changes within the period. . . . As the maps are so closely continuous in time, they represent all political changes of any importance, whereas other atlases represent only distant periods. . . .

The advantages of my plan are: that it presents a complete panorama of history; in turning over the pages we see the growth and decline of nations and tribes; the maps are moving pictures. A narrative is expressed in language addressed to the ear, perhaps through the eye. This is addressed directly to the eye, which takes in thousands of impressions while the ear takes in one. It is history expressed in three dimensions.

For example, to find the state of Europe at a definite time, we have only to turn to the map of the date next following. To find the time that any nation or race first predominated in any spot, we have only to turn the leaves back until the color of that spot changes, the figures near the boundary line indicating the precise year if known in which the change occurred. . . . A knowledge of the geographical distribution of political supremacy is the alphabet

and the foundation of Historical Science. . . . By means of these maps with brief explanations one can learn more in a few hours than by reading alone for many years, and what is thus learned is retained longer in the memory.

At the time of his death the first three volumes — the most important of the Atlas — were substantially finished, and the fourth was far advanced. It is earnestly to be hoped that they may be speedily published.

In 1904 he had reached the grade of Colonel of Engineers, and in 1907 was retired by operation of law; but when our country entered the Great War, Colonel Livermore offered his services, was detailed for special duty with the chief of Engineers and edited the *Professional Memoirs*. This is in fact a journal of military engineering, and the work was one for which he was especially fitted. Shortly after the end of the war he fell ill, and died suddenly at a hospital in New York on September 26, 1919.

Colonel Livermore's intellectual gifts, his versatility and his industry are evident from this brief description of what he did. Yet he was not a man to be appreciated by those who did not know him well. Affectionate by nature, genial with his friends and delightful in propounding new theories that bit into the mind, he was taciturn among strangers, and indifferent to fame. He cared very much about the solution of problems, but singularly little about the reputation they might bring. His desire and facility for self-expression were, indeed, far from strong, either in speech or writing. He was contented to seek for knowledge, to find it, and to place it where it could be of use to those who might look for it. He left few letters, not much published material in comparison with the range of his knowledge and his thought; and what can be stated in a memoir comes in large part from personal recollection. But to the friends who knew him his memory is treasured with affectionate admiration.

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